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THE BIBLE :

ITS USE AND ABUSE ;

OR,

AN INQUIRY

INTO THE

RESULTS OF THE RESPECTIVE DOCTRINES

OF THE

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES,

RELATIVE TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE

Word of God.

BY

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LONDON :

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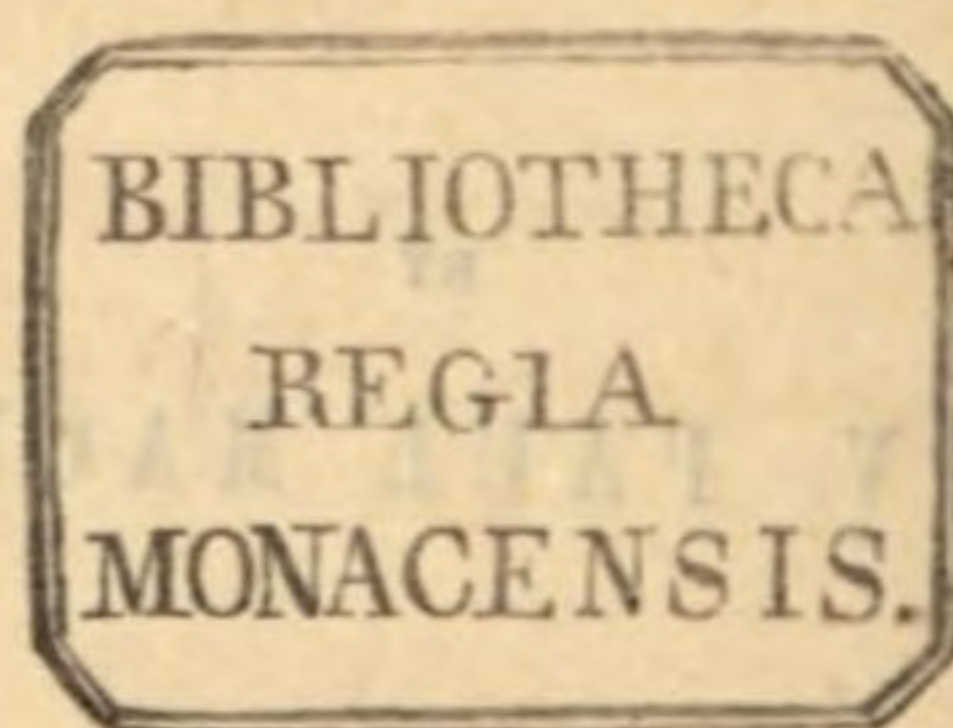
AN INQUIRY

RESPECTING THE RESPECTIVE DOCTRINES

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES,

RELATIVE TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE

SCRIPTURE.



LONDON: J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1782.

AND AT PATTER NORTON ROW;

AND AT THE BIBLE SOCIETY, 10, NEW BOND STREET.

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THE BIBLE:

ITS USE AND ABUSE.

PART FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

—————“Be ye more staid
O Christians! not like feathers, by each wind
Removable. Either Testament,
The Old and New, is yours; and for your guide,
The Shepherd of the Church, let this suffice
To save you.” DANTE.

It is the common belief among Protestants, that the Catholic church is hostile to the Scriptures; that she withholds them from the people when she can, and that when she cannot withhold them, she mistranslates them, or loads them with notes and commentaries to suit her own purposes, and to inculcate her own erroneous doctrines. This is a deplorable mistake—a sad, a lamentable, though long-cherished, error, which it is the object of the following pages to combat and explode.

The task here undertaken is comparatively easy: it will be necessary only to state, in a few plain words, what the doctrine and practice of the Catholic church have ever been, and now are, with regard to the holy Scriptures. The facts adduced, and the arguments appealed to, will speak for themselves, and cannot fail, it is faintly hoped, to make a due impression on every candid and enlightened mind.

The following essay will naturally be divided into

two parts :—in part first, it will be shown, that the Catholic church *uses* the Bible—and in part second, that Protestantism *abuses* it. The proofs demonstrating the truth of both propositions will be drawn from the dealings of the various parties with the sacred volume.

Before we proceed to our task of defending one portion of the Christian community, and bringing home guilt to another—of showing consummate wisdom, attended by the best results on one side, and on the other, rashness and extreme folly, accompanied by incalculable evils and innumerable crimes, we may, perhaps, begin by stating, in what both parties agree regarding the holy Scriptures. From knowing well in what they agree, we shall afterwards better understand in what they differ.

Both Catholics and Protestants equally admit, that *the* Bible is the Word of God ;—the revealed will of God to man, and that, of course, it is to be received and held with gratitude, respect, and the deepest veneration : both parties would deem it a crime wittingly to add one word to, or efface one syllable from, the sacred record ; nor would they designedly alter the meaning of one single sentence without taking to themselves the guilt of sacrilege : in short, the Scriptures, so far as they go, being in their opinion the expression of God's mind to them, they read the holy pages with as much respect as they would listen to the voice of God, were his blessed lips to address them—about the origin, then, or the authority of the Scriptures,* or the respect and obedience due to

* We would not here be understood to say, that Catholics and Protestants are agreed as to what *is* the Bible—far from it. They do not receive the same number of books as inspired, and what they do receive in common, they receive on very different grounds. When, therefore, we speak of the Bible, on the present occasion, we mean that Bible which each party calls its

them—there is no controversy between the Catholic church and the numerous sects that have placed themselves beyond her pale. All are as one with regard to the heavenly gift received;—but there is much difference as to how it should be employed,—how turned to the greatest advantage.

Protestants maintain, that the Scriptures, such as they now possess them, are the sole rule of Christian faith and morality;—that every man of common sense, and common probity, is an adequate judge of their meaning, and may safely risk his salvation on that system of faith and worship, which his own good sense will enable him to form, on a careful and prayerful perusal of the inspired writings: that is, in other words—every Protestant claims and exercises the right of reading the Bible by himself, judging of it for himself, and he makes sure of saving himself by the religion he finds for himself in it. *It* is the sole rule of his faith, and *he* is the sole judge of its meaning. Hence, the anxious zeal of Protestant communities to place the Bible in the hands of all, and their exhortations to all—to read and interpret for themselves. Hence arises what we call the *abuse* of the Bible.

Catholics, on the other hand, proclaim the Bible, that is, in their language, the Word of God, written and unwritten, to be a sure and an infallible guide in things pertaining to religion;—they can have no hesitation in professing this doctrine, since they hold that in the Scriptures is contained *the* word of God, as uttered in his name, and by his authority, by the prophets, the apostles, and other inspired men. But while they readily allow this;

own, and the authenticity of which it holds and maintains,—and this we do to avoid all controversy foreign to this subject, and which might lure us away from the subject under consideration.

they further hold that, not to parchment or to paper alone, was the Word of God committed: they contend that, besides the truths plainly and explicitly taught in the Bible, there are other truths, implied therein, truths of vital importance, entrusted by Almighty God to his church, taught at all times by her pastors, and which the faithful are bound to receive and believe, as firmly and as cordially as they believe the most plainly revealed dogmas in the Old or the New Testament. In the Catholic church, then, the Bible is, indeed, the rule of faith, but the rule of faith explained by her. She, not the Bible, was sent to teach all nations. She teaches them by interpreting the Bible for them. They may read—they may instruct, and console, and edify themselves, by reading, but she must complete their religious education by expounding and explaining,—by solving all difficulties, by removing all doubts, by deciding all controversies,—as becomes a teacher. Now, in discharging this important duty, she looks for light and aid in the Scriptures; she appeals to them; she is guided by the grace of God, and his word as revealed in them. And this we call *using* the Scriptures; that is, employing them as He who gave them intended they should be employed.

The reason why the Catholic church acts thus towards the Scriptures is, that she conceives herself to have been sent,—to have been established on purpose to teach the children of God those saving truths brought down from heaven to them by Jesus Christ, and entrusted by him to her with the express command that she should go and teach them to the whole world. When the Son of God laid this injunction on his church; when he commissioned her to impart to all men the sacred truths of his gospel, he promised that, to enable her to perform so arduous a task, *He* and *His* Holy Spirit

should be with her always, even to the consummation of the world.* Now, the church believes that her Divine Founder fulfils this solemn promise in many ways—and that in many ways he is ever present with her: by his protecting power, for instance, by many secret inspirations, by his grace bestowed in prayer and the holy Sacraments, and also in the *Holy Scriptures*, where he never ceases to speak to her and to manifest to her his Holy Will. The church, then, *uses* the Scriptures as a means to enable her to instruct and enlighten mankind, and lead them safely to the kingdom of God. In opposition, therefore, to the generally received opinion among Protestants relative to the alleged hostility of Catholicism to the Bible, we will show that the Catholic church really *uses* the Bible, reads it, and allows her children freely to read it, for their edification, instruction, and consolation. We hope to show this by calling attention to—1st. The profound esteem and veneration in which the Catholic church has ever held the Scriptures. 2nd. The pains she has taken during eighteen centuries to preserve them in their integrity. 3rd. What she has done to make known to the world their blessed contents.

* Math. xxviii. 20. John xiv. 26.

CHAPTER II.

THE BIBLE EVER HELD IN PROFOUND ESTEEM AND
VENERATION BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE Catholic church has ever looked on the holy Scriptures with the most profound veneration. Next to the body of our Lord, present under the Sacramental veils, there is nothing she holds so sacred, or treats with such marked and heartfelt reverence. A clear and candid enunciation of her doctrines relative to the Scriptures, will, notwithstanding the mutterings of heresy, make it evident to all that her respect and regard for them cannot be surpassed; and that it is all it can and ought to be, short of idolising them, and incurring the guilt of Bibliolatry, a crime which some Protestants have laid to the charge of others.

The reader is already in some degree acquainted with the doctrines taught by Catholicism regarding the Bible: he has already, to a certain extent, seen in what light she beholds that blessed Book. Yet, an occasion like the present, requires perhaps, that we should propound them at greater length. In the eye, then, of this maligned church, the Bible is the Word of God,—spoken or revealed by Him to the prophets, the apostles, and other holy men sent of heaven to make known to man the truths of heaven. In her estimation it contains nought but *truth*—it is all *true*, and in the hands of its legitimate and authorized interpreters, it is an infallible guide, an unerring rule of faith and morality. “The holy Scriptures,” remarks Mr. Digby, “were regarded in ages of faith as that tower of David spoken of in

the book of Canticles, hung round with shields for all who combated in the cause of God and his church. ‘Sicut turris David—mille clypei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium.’” (Mores Catholici, B. 8, ch. 15.) To show their regard for the Bible, and to show at the same time how much they trust for help to it, the holy Fathers of the church, when they meet in council to discuss and decide matters of religious controversy, have the sacred volume placed with much pomp and ceremony on a table in the midst of them. It holds there in some sense the place of *Him* who inspired it, and whose sacred truths they have met to inquire into and elucidate.

But let me not be misunderstood. Besides the written word, commonly called the Bible, and without respecting it one iota the less, the Catholic believes that there are other and auxiliary records of divine origin, which, although not committed to paper by inspired penmen, contain nevertheless revealed truths, and contribute not a little to illustrate some things in both the Old and New Testament but darkly shadowed forth, and, to explain which, has perplexed the most enlightened men. I allude, of course, to tradition.

Tradition is not, as most Protestants imagine, a countless and worthless series of idle, foolish, and superstitious tales, at variance with the Word of God, and tending to obscure it. We mean here by tradition the faithfully recorded interpretation put on the Word of God by the apostles and apostolic men, disciples of the apostles, their more immediate successors, and who, as having been instructed by the apostles themselves, may be considered the best interpreters of the apostolical doctrines. The Scriptures, thus explained by the men who, in some instances, learned the doctrines they contain, before these doctrines were written, from the lips of those by whom they were afterwards written, the church

receives, believes, reveres, rests upon, and guides herself by. To them she has recourse in all her difficulties, by them she decides all controversies, from them she proves her mission and, to a certain extent, derives her authority to preach the doctrines of Jesus Christ, and administer his Sacraments.

Nor let it be said that the church is wanting in respect to the Word of God, by putting on an equality with it the fallible traditions of men, as did the Pharisees of old who were censured by Christ for so doing. A slight notion of what Catholics mean by tradition will make it evident that the church is guilty of no such crime as that so justly imputed by the Saviour to the Jews. Our traditions do not, as theirs did, supersede the Word of God or obscure its meaning. Quite the reverse; they only tend to bring out in a clearer light the true sense of the Scriptures.

The traditions that are of authority in the Catholic church are of a twofold nature; they are ecclesiastical or they are apostolical. Ecclesiastical traditions are not peculiar to Catholicism. They form a necessary sequence of every religious system, be it Jewish, Pagan, Protestant, or Catholic. We mean by them, all that which regulates according to, and consistently with, the customs of bygone ages, religious rites and ceremonies, church discipline, pious usages, and ecclesiastical laws and constitutions. Thus Protestants of modern times cherish the memory of their religious founders, and refer with pride to their usages, laws and ordinances. They adopt them; they are guided by them. They are to them, ecclesiastical traditions: *they* cannot renounce these traditions without repudiating all connexion with the past, and breaking every link of that chain which reaches from the Divine Founder of the Christian religion to the last born of Adam's sinful race.

Apostolical traditions differ much from eccle-

siastical. They are the exclusive property of the Catholic church, having never been so much as claimed by Protestantism. They descend, as their name indicates, from the apostles, and convey to us certain truths, taught, indeed, by them, but which they did not commit to writing. As, however, these truths came from the lips of the apostles, they were carefully recorded by the early disciples of those blessed men, and religiously handed down to us through every successive generation of pastors and teachers. Among the traditions thus referred to are those authorizing infant baptism; the transfer of the Sabbath from the last to the first day of the week; the giving of baptism only once, and the non-necessity of rebaptizing such as may have been baptized by heretics and infidels; the abrogation of the law forbidding the eating of blood or the flesh of animals that have been strangled; to these I might add the tradition which teaches us that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, a truth believed by Protestants as well as Catholics, albeit we may not have express warranty of Scripture for so important an article of our creed. These are some of the most prominent of our apostolical traditions. Strange to say, they are believed as truths by Protestants, who, while rebelling against the name, admit the reality of tradition; an inconsistency, no doubt, on the part of our adversaries, which completely justifies Catholicism, and wipes away the reproach so obstinately urged against her, of overloading the Word of God with the vain fancies of men.

More, we humbly think, need not be said on this subject. In the abstract, as far as pure and reverential belief can evince our regard for the Scriptures, we Catholics have always held and cherished that belief, and displayed it on all suitable occasions.

In this respect, then, we are not enemies to the Bible. But it is not by our mere belief that we would have men to judge of our feelings of veneration for the Word of God, and of our non-hostility to it. We may, on this occasion, say, like our Divine Lord: "If you do not wholly trust our words, at least judge of us by our actions."

From the earliest dawn of Christianity to the times we live in, the inspired volume has been, to every true Christian, a most beloved and most sacred object. So dear was it to the faithful of the primitive times, that many of them carried a portion of its sacred contents about with them on their person, at home and abroad, in the town and in the country, on land and at sea.* So unwilling were some of them to part with it, even at that hour when they were parting with all besides, and were going to see Him with the eyes of the soul, of whom they only read in the holy books, that they bore with them on their bosom, and had buried with them in the grave, a copy of the sacred Scriptures. Copies of the holy gospels have, from time to time, been found in the tombs of ancient Christian heroes and holy men. "The Earl of Lichfield possessed a copy of St. John's Gospel, which had been found in the tomb of St. Cuthbert. In the British Museum there is a beautiful manuscript on vellum, of a French translation of the Bible, which was found in the tent of King John, after the battle of Poitiers; and all the world has heard of the book of the gospels, which was found on the knees of Charlemagne, as

* Of St. Edmund of Canterbury it is related, that "he was never angry during his whole life but once, and that was on his journey from Paris to England, when his companion, through negligence, *lost the Bible with which he had entrusted him.*"—*Mores Catholici*, Book 6, c. v.

his corpse lay in the tomb, when it was opened after his canonization.”—*Digby's Morus*, p. 202.

In times of persecution, and when the heathens hoped to extinguish Christianity by destroying the books in which its sacred doctrines were contained, to deliver up even one page of the Scriptures to the persecutors was deemed a crime of no ordinary magnitude, and was punished by the church in an exemplary manner. They who were guilty of such an act of treachery were styled *traditores*, and subjected to a discipline particularly severe. Many shed their blood rather than betray into heathen hands the sacred records, which, not to mention other imperial decrees, an edict of Diocletian, published at Nicomedia in 303, condemned to the flames, at the same time that it devoted to destruction the Christian churches.

In later times, including the maligned middle ages, the love and veneration of Catholics for the Scriptures was as remarkable as at any preceding or subsequent period. Enormous prices were given for a copy of the Bible. It was frequently bequeathed as a most valuable legacy by a dying man to his dearest surviving friend, and even sometimes by one prince to another. “Charles the Bald, who conferred inestimable benefits upon men by his love for science and learning, among other books, collected many of those Bibles, which are still to be met with in France, Italy, and Germany. He caused a superb copy of the gospels to be written out for the Abbey of St. Denis, in letters of gold, which was afterwards given by the Emperor Arnulf to the Abbot of St. Emmeron, at Regensburg. A similar copy he made for the Abbey of Fleuri: he set such a value on the manuscripts which he had collected with such pains and costs, that before his journey to Italy he made an ordinance that in case of his death his rich library

should be divided into three parts, one of which was to be given to his son, the prince, another to the Abbey of St. Denis, and the third to that of Compiègne." (Mores Cath. B. viii. c. 15.) The faithful of the middle ages, like their ancestors in the faith, were wont to carry the Scriptures about with them on their persons. Two holy monks, who were shipwrecked on the coast of Africa, saved themselves by swimming, leaving all they had in the world a prey to the angry waves, save their lives and a copy of the Scriptures, which one of them bore aloft in his hand, until he gained, with much difficulty, the nearest shore. How the saintly penmen of the times we refer to delighted in the task of transcribing the Scriptures! Only think on the many laborious days and sleepless nights which must have been spent by the good monks, (now called "filthy idlers,") in carefully copying, in adorning inwardly and outwardly, the blessed Book. Their work in this respect is the marvel of even this scientific and proud age. Their beautifully illumined pages, and their costly boards and bindings, are sought after with eagerness by connoisseurs, and by the rich purchased at almost any price. Utilitarians may possibly smile at the men who, according to modern ideas, could throw so much valuable time away in mere ornament, which added not one particle to the intrinsic value of the book itself. But (and we want to prove no more) this amount of toil and trouble, this so-called squandering away of time, this profusion of costly decoration intended to embellish interiorly and exteriorly the Bible, do they not demonstrate better than volumes of argument in what esteem the sacred volume was held by Catholicism, when over all Christendom it reigned supreme? *

* Strange inconsistency of the enemies of Catholicism. One party accuses the monks of neglecting to read the Bible,

When, as we learn from the honest Protestant historian Collier, King Henry VIII. determined to "purge his library" (as the saying goes) of all Popish and superstitious books, much plunder resulting from that operation fell to the lot of the king and his minions. "These persons," adds the historian, "are not named, but the business was to cull out all superstitious books, as missals, legends, and such like, and *to deliver the garniture of the books*, being either gold or silver, to Sir Anthony Aucher. These books were many of them plated with gold and silver, and curiously embossed. This, as far as we can collect, was the superstition that destroyed them! Here avarice had a very thin disguise; and the courtiers discovered of what spirit they were, to a remarkable degree." And we, too, may judge from this fact which of the two had most regard for the books, they who plated them with gold and silver, or they who transferred these precious metals from the books to their own pockets. Now, these books thus plundered of their rich ornaments by the Reformers were, for the most part, Bibles, or parts of the Bible. Had the holy Book been able to speak, it might on this occasion have said in *His* words who inspired its writers. "Had mine enemy (the monks perhaps) done this, I might have forgiven him; but you! who pretend to be so much my friends!"

Be that as it may, the dark ages passed away: a new era bringing in its train new improvements dawned upon Europe. The art of printing was invented. Nor was the Catholic church slow in availing herself of this grand discovery. From the almost immediate use she made of it, she supplies

while another (Ginguené, for example) complains of their having thought more about COPYING BIBLES and Missals than about Greek and Latin manuscripts."

us with another proof how much she loved the Word of God, and how anxious she was to have it in the hands of all who could profit by it. It is a fact, that scarcely was the art of printing brought to anything like perfection, promising to multiply books beyond what the most sanguine could imagine, than the Catholic church (took alarm, the Bible Society would say, and forbade the working of the presses.) No, but printed, with all possible speed, the BIBLE! Yes, the first book ever printed was the Bible, the whole Bible, and then parts of it, to suit all tastes, all readers, all fortunes. And this, be it observed, under the auspices of Catholicism, by Catholic hands, by monkish hands more particularly—no priest, no friar, no bishop, no cardinal, no pope interfering to prevent thousands and thousands of copies of the Book of books issuing from the yet infant press, and being scattered over every portion of delighted Europe. And so great was the demand for the Bible, and so liberally was this demand supplied, that dating from the year 1457 to the year 1546, that is, somewhat less than a century, Europe was deluged with no less than two hundred and sixty-five different editions of the Catholic Bible. Nor does this calculation embrace the versions printed in vernacular tongues, nor the Latin Bibles encumbered with notes and commentaries, nor Bibles printed in parts only; there were, in the time just mentioned, therefore, two hundred and sixty-five different and complete editions of the Latin Bible. Now, had this blessed Book been distasteful to the church, had she had no love or veneration for the Scriptures, would she have encouraged this prodigal diffusion of them among her priests and people? Some persons may object to these Bibles being in Latin, but the fact is, that, at the time we are speaking of, there were many versions of the Scriptures in the

vernacular, as we shall see by and bye ; and, moreover, the Latin tongue was in those days the common language of the reading public, a truth acknowledged by the Reformers, who took care to distribute Latin, as well as English, German, French, and Italian Bibles among their followers.

It were impossible for any reasonable man who sees how rapidly Bibles multiplied, when the art of thus multiplying them was once fairly discovered, to imagine that the men of those times were not lovers and readers of the Bible.* They were most assuredly attentive and devout readers of this divine Book. The annals of his order tell us that St. Bonaventure knew the whole Scriptures by heart. Twice did he copy them, from end to end, with his own hand. He, like other devout men, was, I believe, wont to read them on his knees. St. Thomas Aquinas was a constant reader of the Scriptures ; from ever meditating

* The Second Report of the Edinburgh Bible Society very unwittingly furnishes us with a proof that, wherever Catholicism found its way, there, too, was the Bible and there the love of letters. "It is," says that report, "a singular circumstance in the history of European literature, that letters highly flourished in Iceland between the tenth and fourteenth centuries. At a period when every art and science seemed to be expelled from the continent, they still continued to exist, in no inconsiderable degree, in this barren and inhospitable island. The first edition of the Bible in Icelandic is said to have been finished in the fifteenth century ; and if so, they enjoyed this precious treasure in their own tongue previous to any nation in modern Europe." The last clause of this latter sentence is, as the reader must perceive, characteristically incorrect ; but one thing, at least, is certain, that, long before the dawn of the boasted Reformation, Catholicism had carried the Bible into the barren and inhospitable shores of Iceland. So little, indeed, did the Reformation achieve in the way of diffusing the Scriptures in that country, that when the "British Bible Society" "turned their attention to it, they found that there were not fifty Bibles in the island." This was nearly three centuries after the Reformation.—*Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, vol. I., p. 265.

on them and consulting God in prayer, he derived that theological knowledge which makes him to this day the admiration of the world. Nor was the reading of the Scriptures an exercise of the intellect only; it softened the heart and filled it with compunction. "It was remarked by the senior monks of the monastery of St. Mary of the Angels, at Florence, that Brother Sylvester, when the gospel was read, used to change his place and fall into the rear, in order to prevent any one from observing his tears and rapture at hearing the divine word." (*Digby. Mores.* B. viii., c. 15.) The revival of learning did not diminish the number of Biblical students, nor lessen their love of sacred lore. "In our times," says Vincent of Beauvais, "I behold multiplied every where the knowledge, not alone of secular letters, but also of the divine Scriptures." Writing to a friend who had consulted him, St. John de Avila says: "I wish you to know the New Testament by heart." Of Don Bazile, an austere Trappist monk, it is said by his Father abbot, that he was much given to pious reading and the lives of the saints, but, above all, to the reading of the holy Scriptures, "which were his constant food." The great Italian scholars of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries made the study of the Scriptures their darling occupation. Much as they loved the literary treasures of Greece and Rome; much as they admired the genius of the ancients, and delighted in the study of their works; yet, they loved more, they admired the Hebrew poets and historians more than aught that antiquity ever could boast of. "Heaven forbid," exclaims John Francis Picus, "that I should abandon the frequent reading of the holy Scriptures through ardour for the study of Aristotle. For these studies are, in the first place, to be pursued, which infuse the love of God into

our hearts ; but after them, in the second place, those which illuminate the intelligence ; for as long as we are in this life surrounded with this frail flesh, we stand more in need of perfection in the will than in the intelligence." (Mores, B. viii., c. 15.) In the midst of sadness and sorrow, the reading of the Bible proved a source of much consolation to our devout forefathers. "The holy Scriptures," says the Abbot Alred, of Rievaulx, "is a field like that into which holy Isaac went at eventide to meditate, when Rebecca met him, and assuaged his sorrow. Good Jesus ! how often do my days decline to evening when grief visits me like the shades of night ; when all things that I behold seem flat and insipid, and miserable. What then ? I go out to meditate in the fields, *I revolve the sacred pages*, I meet Rebecca ; that is, thy grace, O sweet Jesus, dispels my darkness, and turns my tears into celestial joys." (Ibid.)

Reading and quoting the Bible has always been a source of much consolation to Catholics when laid on the bed of sickness, and preparing their souls for the passage from time to eternity. Hakon, king of Norway, failing in an expedition against Scotland, died of grief at Kirkwall on the night of the 15th of December, 1263. "He beguiled," says the historian, "the last hours of his illness, by causing the *Bible* to be read to him night and day." A mightier monarch than Hakon, Pope Gregory VII., driven by a vile faction from Rome, and about to resign his pure and noble soul into *His* hands who made it, exclaimed in the words of a persecuted prophet, "I have loved justice and hated iniquity," and therefore I die in a foreign land." St. Peter Nolascus, founder of the Order of Mercy for the Redemption of Captives, who died on Christmas Eve, 1256, made an effort to repeat the Psalm (cx.), "I will praise thee, O Lord, with my whole heart," and when he came to the words,

so expressive of what had been the great object of his life, "He hath sent *redemption* to his people," he quietly breathed his last. The celebrated Dr. Chalmers was found dead in his bed, surrounded, we have heard, with papers connected with the great controversy of his latter days, and with writing materials, ready for use at an early hour of that morning, which the worthy doctor was never destined to see. An humble, but pious minister of that church, reckoned by Dr. Chalmers's co-religionists, hostile to the reading of the Bible, passed lately at the Catholic Chapel House, in Brighton, from an ordinary sleep into that of death, and behold the Bible, open at the Gospel of St. Luke, was found lying by his head on the pillow. (See *Tablet* of 2nd February, 1850.) He had been reading it, and probably died in the very act. The men who could so spend their last moments were not hostile to the Bible; nor can the church who trained such men, who glories in them, who has numbered many of them among her saints, be justly deemed inimical to it, a truth which will appear still more evident from what we are about to state relative to the efforts made by the church to preserve the holy Scriptures.*

* St. Bonaventure and many other holy men of the old school could repeat from memory large portions of the Bible. The inhabitants of the cloister generally knew by heart the whole Psalter and the Gospels, besides other ample portions of the New Testament. Their rule bound them to this, and it was well obeyed.

CHAPTER III.

PAINS TAKEN BY THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TO PRESERVE THE
SCRIPTURES AND DIFFUSE THE KNOWLEDGE OF THEM.

It is universally admitted, that, previous to the discovery of the art of printing, a considerable number of the clergy, more particularly of the religious orders, were occupied in transcribing books. In every monastery there was a large apartment laid aside and expressly fitted up for the use of those among the fraternity, who devoted a life, now called idle, to the irksome and laborious task of collating and transcribing manuscripts. This was the *Scriptorium*. To this Scriptorium and the industrious men that toiled within its walls, modern Europe owes all it now possesses of ancient literature and Christianity—the preservation of its sacred books. But for the ill-requited efforts of those humble and holy men, the noble works of Greek and Roman genius would have long since been buried under the ashes of the eastern and western empires, and those fastidious moderns, who sneer at the dust of the cloisters, would have had to poke for some stray leaves of the ancient historians, philosophers, and poets, among heaps of ashes far more destructive than the *cineres dolosi* of antiquity. The monasteries and the monks were the saviours of ancient literature, and they paved the way for the revival of that learning of which we now enjoy the fruits. But our business is more particularly with their labours on the Scriptures.

The monastic copyists of the middle ages were generally careful in transcribing books of every

kind : to the perfect transcription, however, of the Book of books, their principal attention was devoted. It was with them a labour of love. They performed it as a religious duty, and with scrupulous care. To receive the Word of God, the choicest and most expensive parchments were procured, and the most expert penmen were selected to trace the holy characters. Rich individuals and wealthy monastic houses grudged no expense for so pious a work ; and the modern reader who can purchase a copy of the "authorised" Bible for a couple of groats will learn with astonishment, that in former times, to transcribe a copy of the holy book would have occupied an industrious person for many years, and would, when finished, had worldly gain been the object of the writer, been a competent fortune to a moderately ambitious man. Yet so it was : nor is the fact seriously called in question by many who are unwilling enough in other respects, to do justice to the efforts made by the Catholic church in the cause of learning and religion.

Bishop Tanner candidly admits that "in every abbey there was a large room, called the 'Scriptorium,' where several writers made it their whole business to transcribe books for the use of the library ;" and Hallam, a more recent authority, boldly declares that the monasteries were secure repositories for books :—"all our manuscripts have been preserved in this manner, and could hardly have descended to us by any other channel."—(Middle Ages, vol. ii., c. 9.) "Besides professional scribes," says the Rev. Mr. Fairbairn, "there were many others who engaged in the work of transcribing manuscripts, especially in transcribing the books of Scripture and other religious works ;—men of rank and distinction, to fill up their leisure hours ;—men of piety, to increase the communications of

divine truth : and great multitudes belonging to the monastic orders, who considered themselves bound to have a regular portion of their time spent in this work of transcription.”—(Lectures on Evi. of Rev. Rel. p. 81-2.) A little further on in the same discourse, the anti-catholic Lecturer bears witness to the scrupulous fidelity with which the holy monks applied themselves to the task of transcribing the Word of God. After remarking that the “transcribing of manuscripts, during the middle ages, was carried on to an extent of which most people have no idea,” the Rev. Lecturer goes on to say: “And the inmates of these establishments (the abbeys) were the more zealous and faithful in the transcription of the Bible and other religious books, as it was reckoned a meritorious work, not a little conducive to salvation ; and many of the manuscripts have such an inscription as the following upon them : ‘ This book, copied by M. N., for the benefit of his soul, was finished in the year 948 ; may the Lord think upon him.’ But these monks were not the only voluntary labourers ; for princes and nobles, as well as learned and pious men, of various ages and countries, used often to spend a great part of their time in this useful employment.”

Laudable as these efforts were to multiply books in times when they were necessarily scarce, the Church was not yet satisfied, nor was her zeal in the cause of knowledge yet exhausted. She girded herself up to a still more laborious task ; she strove to collect her books in great numbers, and succeeded in forming libraries, not, indeed, such as we now behold, dignified with the title of royal and imperial, and brought together at the expense of a nation, but yet marvellously rich and numerous for the age we allude to. In every episcopal residence, in every monastic establishment, next to the house of God

and of prayer, the most distinguished, the best furnished, and most honourable, part of the premises was the apartments set aside for the reception and safe keeping of books. They were looked upon as something sacred, much care was taken of them, and, independently of their value in the market as objects of keen competition and of ready sale at great prices, the knowledge and the wisdom they were supposed to contain, secured to them, on all occasions, a treatment very different from that which too often falls to the lot of the Bibles introduced into Protestant schools, or sent abroad into the heathen or Mahometan world by Protestant missionaries. "Fast shut and with great care," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "the library of sacred books is to be preserved from all defilement of dust, from fire and from damp, from thieves and from the sound of clamour, from clay off the feet and the corrosion of worms, from all stain and rent of leaves. He is not worthy to read a sacred book who does not know how to take care of it, and who neglects to put it back in its proper place. Thus must be preserved the treasury of the church, made and edited by holy doctors, written and collated by good writers, and provided by God for the consolation of many." (Mores Cath., vol. i., p. 356. Our quotations from the Mores Catholici are from Dolman's edition in octavo, London, 1845.)

The church, we may observe, looked on books as *her treasure*,* as a gift from heaven for the instruction

* The church ever loved books and encouraged learning, knowing that ignorance is her greatest enemy. This is a fact witnessed by her adversaries, and but ill understood by them. Poor Dr. Lindsay Alexander was much puzzled on finding, in Belgium, the cities in which there were most books most devoted to *Romanism*. "It struck me," he says, "as somewhat singular, in connexion with the two towns I have named (Ghent and Liege), that they are the only towns in Belgium

and consolation of many in this land of darkness and valley of tears: nor, as we shall soon perceive, was the church remiss in every where amassing this treasure, for which an unjust world gives her less

in which I saw books exposed for sale on stalls in the street. Is this to be taken as a sign of a greater love of reading among the inhabitants of these manufacturing emporia? And, if so, is the credit of this due to habits of inquiry and speculation which manufacturing industry may tend to produce? I am somewhat inclined to answer these questions in the affirmative, and yet I am stumbled in coming to the conclusion that the Liegois are more intelligent than others of the Belgians, by the fact, that in Liege Romanism appeared to be more openly and grossly dominant than even at Malines. It was only in Liege, for instance, that I saw *indulgences* openly offered outside the churches. In other places these announcements had been confined to the inside of the church; but here they met one in the streets, in large letters, and in the most conspicuous places. What shall we say to this? Have we here an evidence that Romanism is assuming a new phase, and is about to outwit its antagonists by doing now as it has often done before, employing their chosen weapons against themselves; making use of the 'new learning' to bulwark the 'old faith;' snatching books from the armoury of Protestantism, and employing them for the defence of Romanism? I suspect this is the fact. Rome has become the patron of education and the favourer of learning. Let us prepare ourselves for a new manifestation of the 'deceivableness of unrighteousness.'"—(*Switzerland and the Swiss Churches*, p. 297-8.) So the rev. doctor has here made a wonderful discovery—that even Rome can sometimes *patronize education and favour learning!* Ah! good Dr. Lindsay Alexander! you must be a very simple man, not to have made that notable discovery long ere you visited the Belgian cities. We do not, indeed, look for much learning on the part of a Scotch divine, but we may suppose him conversant with the writings of Roscoe, Hallam, Sam. Laing, and other British authors, who have had occasion to speak of the literature of Catholic ages and countries. Has Dr. Alexander never heard of Gibbon's famous remark—that *one convent of Benedictine monks has produced more books than both the English Universities*. Yes, and we may add, more books than the four Scottish Universities, more than the whole church in which Dr. Alexander is an oracle.

credit than for heaping up other treasures of a more secular nature. However heresy and its offspring infidelity may sneer at the alleged ignorance of "monkish" times, there exists all over Europe monuments to prove, what indeed, impartial history never denied, that the men of the Middle Ages possessed more books, and were much less illiterate than most persons are now aware of. We are, indeed, astonished at the learning of many of them, when we take into consideration the formidable impediments which the calamities of the previous ages had thrown in the way of intellectual improvement. As Mabillon notices in his essay on "Monastic Studies," the inhabitants of the cloister divided their time between reading, contemplation, and manual labour. Reading afforded them food for the mind; and the time devoted to this important exercise, enabled them to repose their weary limbs after the manual labours imposed on them by the rules of their order. Hence to them, books were a necessary of life, a truth expressed in the well-known maxim: "Clastrum sine armario quasi castrum sine armamento," which may be freely translated thus: "an abbey without books is like a castle without cannon." To the thirst of these holy men for knowledge, we may attribute the almost countless number of books published during the twelfth century; and so numerous, indeed, where they, as to excite the astonishment of those among the moderns who have paid attention to this subject. M. Villemain, a distinguished literary man of the present day, in his *Tableaux de la Litterature du Moyen Age*, p. 307, records the fact with evident satisfaction; and Mabillon vindicates, as his prodigious learning enabled him so well to do, even the 10th century, less enlightened, perhaps, by the torch of learning than any previous or succeeding age, from the almost unqualified charge of more than

Cimerean darkness, urged against it by Protestant writers. Every age, even the most unfortunate, had its books and readers, and learned men :—and books and those who could use them, went on increasing as the church was more successful in civilising the barbarians who overthrow the Roman empire, as she succeeded in erecting churches, in founding monasteries, in establishing universities and inferior schools. To each of these she attached, as often as circumstances permitted, libraries, many of which were open to the public, and some she established chiefly for poor scholars, whose limited means would not otherwise allow them to gratify their literary taste. Thus “the library of Marucelli, at Florence, was founded by a virtuous prelate for the use of such men of learning as were poor, as the inscription testifies : ‘Publicæ et maxime pauperum utilitati,’ that is, ‘for the use of the public, and particularly the poor.’ Of the earlier monasteries, or rather of those who inhabited them it was said, with much truth, ‘that choosing to live themselves in the utmost poverty they nevertheless collected rich libraries.’”

As might naturally be expected, the continent abounded more than the British Isles with books : yet, our pious ancestors managed to collect rich stores of learned works, as may be seen from the histories of our abbeyes and cathedrals. Of these many were transcribed in England ; and many, too, were imported from Rome, by holy bishops and devout persons, returning from visiting the Eternal City : while some also were sent by the pope to distinguished individuals, or communities as gifts, and marks of esteem.* It was no uncommon act of charity on the

* Long previous to the Reformation, the Scriptures were much read in this island. Now that England seems to be so much alarmed at some recent arrivals from Rome, it may be some consolation for her to know, that one of the first books

part of the holy Father to send, and encourage others to send, presents of books, and along with them, learned men and expert copyists into newly converted countries, to instruct and confirm the Neophytes in the faith. In the year 1246, the pope published a Bull, exhorting wealthy monasteries to forward such valuable gifts to the infant church of Livonia, in Prussia, still unprovided with what they had so long and so abundantly possessed. It were a pleasure to dilate on this subject—to display, as far as words would enable us to do it, the zeal, the indefatigable zeal of the church in the worst times, and the most unpropitious to the progress of knowledge, in labouring to enlighten the world by trimming the ancient lamps of learning, and pouring in every hour fresh supplies of oil to illumine the path of men through dark, dreary, and troublous times, to the dawn of days more clear, more settled, and more serene. But our tale must be brief: suffice it then to say, that, to preserve the wreck of ancient literature, sacred and profane, no pains, no expense was spared, by the Catholic church. Her ablest scholars copied books, writing night and day: her opulent children bequeathed legacies for the support of the Scriptorium in the abbeys. Emperors and kings, like Charlemagne, gave to monasteries an unlimited right of hunting over vast forests, to enable them to procure skins of deers wherewith to cover their books. So honourable and meritorious was the task of copying

sent to the British shores, by Pope Gregory the Great, was a *Bible*, richly ornamented in two volumes, which were still extant in the reign of James I. Nor was it a sealed book. “Bede testifies, in the beginning of his history, that it was the king, his patron’s delight, to hear the Scriptures read. Alfred of Northumbria, the predecessor of this prince, was styled ‘most learned in the Scriptures,’ having been educated by Wilfred.”
—(*Digby quoting de Pont. 718.*)

and writing out books, that noblemen and ladies of rank were known to spend much of their time in this most useful exercise; and, even, as in the case of St. Osmond of Salisbury, the consecrated hands of bishops did not shrink from copying books one day and *binding* them another. The apparent meanness of the act was enobled by the charity urging to it: and, truth to say, charity, love of God, and an ardent desire to save the souls of men, were the source of all this zeal, these labours, and their glorious results. All was done for religion. Every art was learned, and every science cultivated with a view the better to prepare the hearts and souls of men for heavenly influences. "In our schools," says Mabillon, "all branches of learning were taught, but every other study was referred to that of the sacred Scriptures and of the holy Fathers," the most natural, the earliest, and the best interpreters of the Scriptures.

Having thus shown how the church preserved the holy Scriptures when without her protecting care they would necessarily have perished, let us now examine what she did to diffuse the knowledge of the words of inspiration.

It was not enough for the church, in her solicitude for the souls of her people to write and transcribe books, to bind them in costly garniture, and to collect them in those quiet retreats where book-loving men delighted to dwell. She also created readers. To hasten the onward march of knowledge, she founded schools, she appointed masters, she assembled around them the youth from town and country to be instructed. There is nothing more honourable to the Catholic church than the efforts she made, after the devastating torrent of barbarism had swept over the old Roman world, to revive by means of schools, academies and universities, the arts and sciences, and the study of the

ancient languages. In connexion with every monastery, with every cathedral church, or episcopal residence, and sometimes with parish churches was a seminary of more or less merit according to the circumstances of time and place. The parochial school system, of which Scotland is so proud, and to which she attributes so much of the brilliant success her sons have obtained in literature and arts, and arms and commerce, existed in the very bosom of Catholicism a full thousand years ere John Knox or Andrew Melville had transplanted Calvinism from the shores of the Leman Lake to those of their native country. A council held in Narbonese Gaul, in 529, issued the following decree: "It pleases us that all priests, constituted over parishes according to the custom which is so beneficially established in Italy, should have junior readers, unmarried, in their houses, whom they shall spiritually nourish, instructing them in the Psalms and divine lessons and in the law of God." When the Goths and Lombards had destroyed in Italy nearly all the learning as well as the empire of pagan Rome, Christian Rome, as we are told by Muratori, repaired, as far as could then be repaired, the evil thus done by establishing parochial schools, which under the influence of the clergy soon became general on the south side of the Alps. And as we see by the canon of the council just quoted, it speedily found its way from Italy into Gaul. This was in the fifth century. "In Spain," says Mr. Digby, (*Mores*, vol. i. p. 388,) "first arose the schools of the cathedral churches....children offered by their parents were here to be instructed under the eye of the bishop, and to dwell under the same roof." The schools of Paris were very numerously attended, as were those of Rheims under the celebrated Hincmar, its bishop: both produced a host of great men who rose to the first dignities of the church and the

state. The royal children were sometimes taught in these academies. It was the special duty of the masters in the cathedral schools to instruct youth in the holy Scriptures, and the kindred sciences.

In addition to the cathedral schools, we may mention those established in every portion of the western church, by the ever illustrious and learned Order of Benedictine Monks. They taught everywhere with zeal and success, for, they applied themselves to their noble and laborious task from purer and higher motives than the desire of earthly riches can ever inspire. Their famous school in the island of Lerins long edified and instructed the world, sending forth year after year hosts of learned men, several of whose names are still famous in history. That of Seville in Spain would have immortalized itself had it only produced St. Isidore. "In the Abbey of Jumièges, where Edward the Confessor was educated, there were many schools for the monks and for seculars, in which rich and poor were alike received, and the poor could send their children, because they were nourished at the expense of the monastery.* In the monastery of St. Benedict on the Loire, there were at one time five thousand scholars. Two descriptions of colleges flourished within all the Benedictine monasteries, of which one was for lay youths. The *scholasticus* was the master of the school, who not only excelled in the science of *divine Scriptures*, but also in secular learning, in mathematics, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, music, rhetoric, and poetry. Trithemius adds, that whenever an abbot found no monk in his abbey competent to discharge this office, it was no subject of shame, to apply to some other monastery for a monk to fill it. No college in these ages was

* Is not this a type of our ragged schools, for the establishment of which Protestantism claims so much credit?

more celebrated than that of Fulda, of which Raban was preceptor.”—(*Mores*, vol. i. p. 389.)

The care bestowed by the Benedictines on the youth entrusted to them is beyond all praise, and may well contrast with the discipline and moral training characteristic of some, I may say, many modern public schools in Protestant England and Germany. In his third book of the customs of Cluny, Uldaricus declares “it would be difficult for any son of a king to be nourished with greater diligence than was the least boy of the lowest rank in Cluny”—and, indeed, many sons of kings, who in after days swayed the sceptre, “were educated with the children of the poor” in Benedictine monasteries. Nor was the education afforded by these truly wonderful schools of an expensive nature. It was not so much the object of their founders to amass wealth as to diffuse knowledge. All connected with them were equally disinterested: Mabillon declares, that if sometimes the masters and teachers “received anything as a gift from the munificence of their disciples, they used to spend it in pious uses.” Charlemagne was a magnificent patron of letters: he turned his very palace into an academy—in his progresses and campaigns, he was always accompanied by learned ecclesiastics, and he encouraged and rewarded the friends of reviving literature over the wide extent of his dominions.

Our own British Isles were, at the time we write of, eminent for schools and scholars of no mean repute. Alcuin, our countryman, was invited over to France by Charlemagne. He taught in the monastery of St. Martin of Tours, whence writing to his royal friend and patron, he says among other things: “I, according to your exhortations and good desire, apply myself to minister to some under the roof of St. Martin, *the honey of the holy Scriptures*: others

I endeavour to inebriate with the wine of ancient learning, others I begin to nourish with the apples of grammatical subtilty." In leaving the British shores, Alcuin left behind him many able scholars who could supply his place, and diffuse among his countrymen that knowledge which he was invited to share with strangers. Ireland, less exposed to the invading babarians, than the countries subject to the Roman empire, was, during many ages, the asylum of literature, and she generously afforded to the learned of other nations a safe retreat and unbounded hospitality. This fact, highly honourable to the island of saints, is gratefully recorded by the venerable Bede. I will insert here his very words as they administer a sharp rebuke to those maligners of Ireland, who represent it as at all times helpless, involved in mental darkness, steeped in poverty, and sunk in superstition. Speaking of the year 664, the venerable historian informs us that, "many of the noble and middle classes of England left their country and passed into Ireland for the sake of divine reading, (the Scriptures, of course) or of a more continent life, and some within the monasteries, others going about from cell to cell, delighted in receiving instruction from masters, all of whom the Irish liberally received, giving them daily food without price, as also books and instructions gratuitously. —(His. Ang. Lib. iii. c. 27.) The state of learning both in England and Ireland, at the time to which we refer, cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Digby. Alluding to the English who visited Ireland, he says, "returning home, they enriched their own country with learning. Renowned schools and colleges were in the abbeyes of Louth, of St. Ibar, in the island of Beg Eri, on the coast of Wexford in the abbey of Clonard in Eastmeath, and of Rathene, in those of Lismore, Ross, and Bangor, of St. Mary,

at Clonfert, and in that of St. Ninnidius, in the island of Dam Inis, in the lake of Erne, and in the abbey of the Isle of Immay, on the coast of GalwayTanner admits, that the English monasteries, till the moment of their destruction, were schools of learning and education, and that all the neighbours who desired it might have their children taught grammar and church music, without any expense to them.” —(*Mores*, vol i. p. 389.*)

* We observe with extreme pleasure that our notions of the learning of the Monks previous to the Danish invasion of Britain, and again, after the ravages of the Danes had been repaired, are borne out by the evidence of the learned professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. In a recent lecture delivered to his pupils, that candid and well-informed gentleman boldly proclaimed the services which the church and the cloister have rendered to literature in the worst of times; and he administered, at the same time, a sharp rebuke to those, who have long been telling the world, that the monks and churchmen of the Middle Ages were overpaid in Scotland for any benefits they may have conferred on society. Light is beginning to appear at last, even in the midst of those clouds of prejudice and falsehood in which modern Scottish writers have enveloped the annals of their country.

CHAPTER IV.

ZEAL OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN TEACHING THE
SCRIPTURES.

FROM all we have hitherto said, it must appear to every one, that the church in those ages, styled contemptuously ages of darkness, was no enemy to learning and light. The comparative darkness that certainly did prevail was not of her creation; on the contrary, she did all that lay in her power, and more than mere man could do, to dissipate its fatal mists—to nothing so fatal as to the interests most dear to her—the eternal interests of her children's souls. From the earliest portion of her history, we find that she founded schools for the interpretation of the Scriptures at Rome, at Nisibe, and at Alexandria. That of Nisibe, and, in the course of time, that still more celebrated one of Alexandria, after a most flourishing career of several centuries fell a victim to the inroads of the barbarians. Rome, as was meet for the Mother church, and the centre of Christian unity, preserved her schools when her arms fell into feeble hands, and her empire had crumbled into dust. Christian Rome has at all times been a light to the nations. So early as the year 238, Pope Anterus had already collected a *Scriptural Library*. In the time of Gregory the Great, and even previous to his pontificate, “it had already been the custom for remote bishops, whenever they had any difficulty about a book to apply to the pope.” Such applications were of every day occurrence, and came from Egypt, from Spain and Gaul, as well as from several other countries. But the anxiety of the Father of all

the faithful for the instruction of his children sometimes anticipated their demands. We have already seen how the zeal of the popes of the middle ages stirred up the wealthy monasteries to send books and learned men to interpret them, to the newly converted Livonians. In such good works tending to enlighten mankind, the sovereign pontiffs never wearied ; and it is a glorious fact that, to the See of Rome, Europe is indebted for parochial, conventual, and episcopal schools, for the earliest and most famous universities,* for libraries, and especially, as we see in the case of

* To the papacy modern Europe owes such schools as neither Greece nor Rome could ever boast of—its noble universities. These venerable seats of learning were, long previous to the Reformation, crowded with able masters and diligent pupils. The number of these was almost incredibly great, amounting, in some instances, to many thousands, as at Paris and in other continental cities. Scotland, too, thanks to its Catholic clergy, had, in days of yore, as many universities as other countries of equal dimensions, and the Reformation has added little either to their number or to the number of their alumni. How the Scotch, when they were yet Catholics, could appreciate learning and hail its apostles on their coming to our rugged shores, may be gathered from Tytler's account of the introduction of university discipline into St. Andrews—the earliest of our great Scotch academies. "On the 3d of February, 1413, Henry Ogilvy, master of arts, made his entry into the city, bearing the papal bulls which endowed the infant seminary with the high and important privileges of a university: and his arrival was welcomed by the ringing of bells from the steeples, and the tumultuous joy of all classes of the inhabitants. On the following day, being Sunday, a solemn convocation of the clergy was held in the refectory, and the papal bulls having been read in the presence of the bishop, the Chancellor of the University, they proceeded in procession to the high altar, where *Te Deum* was sung by the whole assembly, the bishops, priors, and other dignitaries, being arrayed in their richest canonicals, whilst four hundred clerks, besides novices and lay brothers, and an immense number of spectators, bent down before the high altar in gratitude and adoration: High Mass was then celebrated, and when the service was concluded the remainder of the day was devoted to

Pope Anterus, for the earliest collection of Scriptural libraries. A satisfactory enough proof, one would think, that Rome is not hostile to the Bible, or opposed to its free, when judicious, circulation.

mirth and festivity. In the evening, bonfires in the streets, peels of bells and musical instruments, processions of the clergy, and joyful assemblies of the people indulging in the song, the dance, and the wine cup, succeeded to the graver ceremonies of the morning; and the event was welcomed by a boisterous enthusiasm more befitting the brilliant triumphs of war than the quiet and noiseless conquests of science and philosophy.”—Vol. III., p. 156. 12mo. edit. To literature in general, as we shall elsewhere demonstrate, and to the universities in particular, the Reformation was extremely hostile. “It is generally believed,” says Mr. Digby, “that these (religious) changes in England were immediately succeeded by a flourishing state of letters; the Reformation and the revival of learning are made to constitute the blessed whole: but the writers of our literary history (Warton, for example,) have shown that this was by no means the case, and that, for a long time afterwards, an effect quite contrary was produced: the grammar schools and universities were deserted,* degrees were abrogated as anti-christian. Duke Humphrey’s library, at Oxford, was totally stript by the spiritual reformers, and a total stop seemed to be placed to all improvement in knowledge; the persons ordained by the bishops were artificers, and other illiterate persons, so that about the year 1563, there were only two divines in Oxford,—the President of Magdalen and the Dean of Christ Church,—who were capable of preaching before the university.”—Morus, p. 106. This accounts for the lamentable state of ignorance into which, according to Macaulay, the Anglican clergy had fallen about the middle of the following century.—*See Macaulay’s History of England, during the reign of James II.*

* Hence the humorous song:—

“We’ll down with all the varsities
Where learning is professed,
Because they practice and maintain
The language of the beast.”
 &c., &c.

And here, did our limits permit us, we might go a little out of our way to see whether or not the efforts of the church to instruct mankind in the middle ages were tolerably successful. Every thing fairly considered, the material she had to work upon, the means she had at her command, the manifold impediments thrown in her path, methinks her efforts were crowned with astonishing success. Her pupils were at first conquering barbarians, proud of their feats of arms, despising the arts and sciences of the Romans, whose empire they had overthrown, and bent only on plunder and sensual gratifications. To subdue and civilize these heathen masters of the empire the church had, humanly speaking, very inadequate means; none of those modern inventions which facilitate so much the progress of knowledge. She had no printing presses, no newspapers, no Biblical society, no missionary meetings, such, at least, as are now held. She could not rely for assistance on fleets and armies, like those which sometimes escort our English missions to the heathen. In fact, she had no other arms than those which are emphatically styled her own, that is, prayers, tears, patience, zeal, and a charity that knew no bounds. With these, however, she was abundantly provided, and with these she triumphed over those warlike nations who annihilated the legions; while England's Protestant missionaries are repulsed with scorn and contempt by the feeble tribes and effeminate nations of the East, who tamely submit to England's invading armies. Her fleets every where prevail; her faith is every where rejected. Modern heresy may laugh at the comparative ignorance of the middle ages; but, of a truth, had that same heresy attempted to convert Clovis and his Franks, to repel Attila, to subdue the ferocity of the Goths and Vandals, it would have failed as ignominiously as it has failed

in the East, and the night of middle-age darkness would not yet have passed away. But we must return to our argument.

In further illustration of the non-hostility of Rome to the free circulation of the Scriptures, we may allude to the pains she has taken to facilitate to the people the reading of them. We have already seen how anxious the churchmen of the middle ages were to encourage the study of the dead languages, Latin and Greek. They cultivated, too, with as much diligence as they could bring to the task, the Arabic and Hebrew. From the former of these languages books were occasionally translated. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, employed several learned men in this most useful exercise. But what is truly remarkable, what, more than anything else, shows the anxiety of the church for the diffusion of God's Word, is, that she was not content to minister to the intellectual wants of the learned only. She did not, as she is often accused of doing, suffer her treasures of sacred knowledge to remain locked up, as it were, in dead languages, inaccessible to the vast majority of the people. No; but when Latin had ceased to be generally spoken; when it ceased to be a vulgar tongue, that is, the language in common use among the people at large; and, when the dialects spoken by the people were but barbarous jargons derived from the Latin, the church exerted herself to cultivate and improve these rude idioms: she studied how she could best put them into grammatical shape and symmetry, and she left nothing undone to make them a channel through which she might convey to her children the faith and law of Christ—His will as revealed in His unerring Word. We learn from the German historian, Voigt, that it was the bishops who, in Prussia, a country then recently converted to the Christian faith, urged the necessity

of using and of cultivating the national tongue as the best medium of conveying to ignorant minds the sublime truths of the gospel. We maintain that, in every age, the bishops of the church, spread over the world, thought and acted with regard to the Scriptures as did their Prussian brethren. They conveyed these sacred oracles to the people in the language best known by the people: and when a rude nation spoke a rude language they endeavoured to instruct and improve that nation by forming and improving the language itself. Here, as elsewhere, we can fortunately appeal to facts and dates in corroboration of our assertions.

For a period of several centuries after the birth of Christianity the languages in most common use among Christians were the Greek and Latin. Into these tongues the Old Testament was translated many times, and by many different authors in the course of a comparatively short time. The New Testament, with the exception of St. Matthew's Gospel, was written in Greek, and from the Greek, like the Old Testament, and, contemporaneously with it, was again and again translated into Latin. "The Holy Scripture," says St. Austin, "diffused far and wide through the various languages, was made known to the nations unto salvation." Zealous as were the Greeks and other oriental nations to possess the Word of God in their respective dialects, Greek, Syriac, and others, and numerous as were their translations of the Sacred Writings; their efforts, in this respect, fell far short of those made by their brethren of the West. This, strange to say, applies more particularly to those portions of the world over which the Roman pontiffs exercised more immediate influence. In those regions, says the holy doctor, whom we have just quoted, the translations of the Scriptures into Latin "had multiplied beyond the possibility of

enumeration." *Qui Scripturæ ex Hebraica lingua in Græcam virterunt numerari possunt ; Latini autem interpretes, nullo modo.* De Doct. Chris. Lib. 2, cap. 5.

To the time of St. Augustine, that is, down to the middle of the fifth century, it is impossible to complain of the lack of translations of the Bible ; it is equally impossible to accuse the Catholic church of endeavouring to prevent, at that period, the people from using these translations. It may be true that shortly after the period we allude to, the progress of translating may have been somewhat checked, for this reason, that the old Latin language was itself dying out as a spoken tongue, and that the dialects springing out of it had not yet been formed, so as to admit of translations being made into them. This gradual wearing out of the old language, and the yet imperfect formation of the new, the church felt to be a most serious evil, which threw in her path a formidable impediment when she went forth to instruct her people. Hence we find her, as we have already observed, striving to cultivate the new languages, in order to make them the vehicle of her doctrines. In effecting this, as, indeed, in all other good works, the church was powerfully aided by the inhabitants of the cloister. The first grammar of the Romance language was from the pen of a monk of Einseidelin, the learned Basil Mayer, of Baldegg. (Ischudi, chro. 172.) The bishops mentioned by Voigt laboured zealously, as we have seen, in the same cause. So ardent were the partizans of the modern idioms in pursuing their favourite studies, and so partial were they to those idioms, that they would have obliterated, if possible, every remnant of the venerable languages of Greece and Rome, as may be seen in the Dialogues of Speroni. (Dial. delle lingue.) To

such an excess the wisdom of the church would not suffer her to be a party. She thought it her duty to make the best use she possibly could, both of the dead languages and of those which had lately been called into existence. The first she employed in her more solemn offices, in the administration of the sacraments, in offering up the sacrifice, and on all occasions when dignity of manner, and strict accuracy in doctrinal points, and unchanging form in ritual observances, were particularly required; the latter she found most useful, because most generally understood, when she applied herself to instruct the people and urge them to the performance of their Christian duties.

And now, methinks, it is time for some zealous Biblicals to exclaim: "All this is very good; but, pray, did your church give the Bible to the people in these new languages you speak of?" She did; she gave it to them freely, cheerfully, honestly, and without reserve. We have already stated that new translations of the Bible from the original Hebrew and Greek became more rare as the Latin itself began to decline, or, rather, as it ceased to be a spoken tongue; but the favourite task of translating was resumed with new zeal when the modern languages had assumed a somewhat decided character and respectable form. So much was this the case, that the Bible was read by most European nations in their respective idioms centuries before the invention of printing. This is undoubtedly true with regard to the Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, Dutch, English, and Bohemians, and many other nations besides.

Hallam informs us, that "in the eighth and ninth centuries, when the vulgate Latin had ceased to be generally understood, there is no reason to suspect any intention in the church of Rome to deprive the

laity of the Scriptures. Translations were freely made." This is all very true, but it is true also that translations were *freely made* previous to the time mentioned by Hallam and after it. As early as the middle of the fourth century, Ulfilas, Bishop of the Mæso-Goths, translated the Bible into the Gothic dialect, for the benefit of his rude flock. By the zeal of Charlemagne the Bible was translated into the Teutonic language, from which the modern German is derived; and Charles V., of France, caused the whole Scriptures to be translated into French. Besides these prose translations, important portions of the Scriptures appeared in German verse, and every one knows that much of the sacred writings were every day read and explained to the people in the daily services of the church. Now, these versions were the work of churchmen, and yet we nowhere find that they were checked in the performance of their laborious task, either by any misgivings on their own part, or by any remonstrance on the part of the church; a sure sign, one would imagine, that the alleged hostility of Rome to the Scriptures in any tongue did not exist at the times of which we are speaking.

So far, indeed, was the church, in what is called the "dark ages," and the preceding and following centuries, from seeking to prevent the transcription, translation, and free circulation of the Scriptures, that, on the contrary, she endeavoured, by every means in her power, to encourage Biblical studies and all that could facilitate the right understanding of the sacred books. Under her eye, and cheered on by her countenance and liberal rewards, learned men devoted their lives to the elucidation of the Scriptures. Catholic commentators of the Bible are numerous, almost beyond belief; and although some Protestants may affect to despise their labours,

it is a fact that not a few of the most celebrated commentators of their own communion have borrowed largely, and often without any acknowledgment, from their Catholic predecessors. "We suffer no great loss," says the Abbé Sionnet, "in not studying very attentively the Biblical works of Protestant interpreters, because nearly all that is really good in their writings is borrowed from those of Catholics. —Ou perd peu de chose à ne point lire les plus célèbres scholiastes et commentateurs Protestants, car tout ce qu'ils ont de bon et de certain se trouve dans les commentaires Catholiques, qu'ils copient souvent sans indiquer la source où ils puisent." (Janss. Herm. Sacree. Revue par Sionnet. Appen., p. 83.) From this sweeping charge of ignoble plagiarism M. Sionnet, after seven years' researches among Protestant commentators, does not exempt even Rosenmuller. Of the Catholic writers thus unscrupulously plundered, I may mention, among many others, Don Calmet, Cornelius à Lapede, and De Sacy; they, and a host of others, whose names are in honour, spent much time and bestowed great labour in the elucidation of the Scriptures.

Translating the Word of God and commenting on it was at all times a labour of love to the doctors and teachers of the Catholic church. England contributed largely to this good work. Nicholas Trivet, a learned Dominican friar, excelled in illustrating the sacred books, and the whole of Christendom is indebted to the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, for having divided the Bible into chapters, such as we now have it. The fruits of all these labours were a great knowledge of the letter and of the meaning of the Scriptures; a knowledge not confined to churchmen alone, but widely diffused among the whole community. Most Protestants, we are aware, live and die in the belief, that in the "dark ages"

the Bible was a book sealed to the laity, and but very indifferently known even to the clergy. This is a sad mistake. Hurter, while yet a Protestant minister, shows, in the thirteenth book of his "Life of Innocent III.," how erroneous is this idea. Maitland, at this moment an Anglican divine, proves most convincingly, in his "Dark Ages," that not only were the laity and clergy acquainted with the Scriptures during the middle ages, but that their acquaintance with them was most familiar. Scripture phrases were in every one's mouth; Scriptural allusions were the most common figures of speech; the words and actions of men and women mentioned in Scripture were universally known, and pulpit allusions to them were better understood by the multitude than they are now. On the stage nought but Scriptural scenes were represented; the poet sang and the historian spoke of warlike and heroic deeds in Scriptural language. Now, all this necessarily supposes a thorough knowledge of the Sacred Writings, as it would have been absurd to speak so often of, to quote so often from, a book wholly unknown to those to whom these words and writings were addressed. This may be illustrated by one single instance, borrowed from the literature of Spain, a country supposed to be as ill versed in Scriptural knowledge as any in Christendom. The Spanish church had reason to complain of the bad effects of the profane tales connected with chivalry. One of her zealous sons undertook "to drive them out of the world," and for this purpose he sat down to write a religious romance. It was called, with much propriety, "The Celestial Chivalry." "The first part of this work is entitled the 'Root of the Fragrant Rose,' which, instead of chapters, is divided into 'Wonders,' *Maravillas*, and contains an allegorical version of the most striking stories in the

Old Testament, down to the time of good King Hezekiah, told as the adventures of a succession of knights-errant. The second part is divided, according to a similar conceit, into the 'Leaves of the Rose,' and, beginning where the preceding one ends, comes down, with the same kind of knightly adventures, to the death and ascension of Christ. The third (part), which is promised under the name of the 'Flower of the Rose,' never appeared, nor is it now easy to understand where consistent materials could have been found for its composition, the whole Bible having been nearly exhausted" in the completion of the two previous parts. (See Mr. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature, vol. I., p. 223). Now, the fact of this romance being written for the people, shows both that they were not ignorant of the Bible, and that the church did not wish to debar them from the perusal of it. Indeed, Mr. Ticknor informs us that the book of "Celestial Chivalry" was intended to withdraw the minds of men from profane to sacred subjects; that it was composed under the influence of the church, and by a devout churchman, Hieronimo de San Pedro. The truth is, the Bible was never more in the hands and hearts of men than during the maligned middle ages.

Passing, then, in review, as we have done, those ages of the world, styled by presumptuous ignorance the "dark ages," we find that in truth, there existed in them much knowledge and love of the Word of God. They enjoyed not, certainly, many of those improvements of which more recent times may boast; but they were happy in their contented simplicity; they were making daily progress in the arts of life and in civilization, and they possessed, in an eminent degree, the religious spirit and all its sweet comforts. The men of those times were, to say the least, as good Christians as we are, who

look back upon them with mingled feelings of pity and contempt. Certain it is, the church of those days did all she could to instruct the people, just emerging from the barbarism which they inherited from their yet not remote ancestors; and so far was she from debarring them from free access to the source of all true knowledge—the Word of God, that she did all that lay in her power, by every art and every science, by calling to her assistance each of their own senses, and sometimes even enlisting in her service their innocent prejudices, to make them familiarly acquainted with Scriptural history, as well as the faith and law of Christ. This is a fact, which M. Guizot, and other writers of the modern school, not very friendly to Catholicism, willingly admit. The fault they find with her is this:—the church was too much given to Scriptural studies; everything in those times tended that way. “Tous les écrits du moyen âge nous apportent la preuve de cette préoccupation exclusive des esprits vers l’histoire Sainte, et les prodiges qui avaient signalé l’avenement du Christianisme. Tout nous montre la pensée de Dieu et du ciel, dominant les moindres œuvres de cette époque de naïve et crédule simplicité....Partout reparaissait à l’imagination Jesus-Christ et ses saints.” *Essai sur les legendes pieuses du Moyen Age*, by L. J. Alfred Maury, p. 57. See also Guizot’s *cours d’Histoire Moderne Leçon*, 17.

We have now seen that in the “middle ages” and the times anterior to that epoch, the church exerted herself to instruct the people in the Word of God, that she put no obstacle in their way when they wished to read it: but that, on the contrary, she did all that lay in her power to enable them both to read and understand it. Let us now turn our attention for a brief space to the times just preceding the so-called Reformation: let us examine whether or not

during those times the church prevented the people from freely reading the Scriptures. Protestants allege she did so prevent them, and that the Reformation was the consequence. This, Catholics deny; and we shall now proceed to show that their church is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge.

So far, indeed, was the Catholic church from preventing the people from reading the Scriptures at the times we are speaking of that, nearly a century before the Reformation, just as the art of printing was discovered, we find her busily engaged transcribing thousands and thousands of copies of the Bible, and translating it into those of the European languages in which it had not yet appeared, or which had been so much improved as to call for a new version. Here the nature and importance of the subject compels us to enter into some details.

In Italy, where we may imagine the greatest opposition, if opposition had been made anywhere, would have been made to the "free circulation" of the Bible in the vernacular, a translation of the Scriptures was published in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, by no less a personage than the Archbishop of Geneva, Jacobus à Voragine. At that time we have good reason to believe that the great bulk of the people understood Latin, and the Italian language had scarcely yet acquired a decided and fixed character. At all events the pastors of the church thought it advisable to attempt presenting the Scriptures to their flocks in that idiom, which, however imperfect as yet, was fast superseding the ancient language of the Roman empire. Again, in 1471, a new translation of the whole Bible was printed simultaneously at Venice and at Rome (in the latter city with some alterations in style.) Six years later it was reprinted at Venice in folio and in quarto; and so much was the art of printing become,

even at this early date, a favourite with the church, that before Luther had sent many sheets of *his* translation to the printer, the Italian Bible of the humble monk Nicholas Malerimi had issued from the press thirteen different times, and had run through many editions. (The dates of these various editions, and all necessary details regarding them will be found in Le Long. B., tom. 1, p. 354-5).

In about a quarter of a century later than the time just referred to, eight new editions of the Bible in the vernacular tongue came successively before the Italian public—that is, the more immediate subjects of the Pope—and with the full approbation and sanction of the inquisition. Thus we find that, in the course of about seventy years, thirty different times did the Catholic church suffer the Bible to be printed, and the fruits of a press ever active and very prolific for the times, to be scattered over every portion of the Italian peninsula, and even freely exported to foreign countries. Nor did the policy of the church ever vary in this respect; for it is notorious that, in times less remote, and in every succeeding age, the whole Bible has been again and again translated into Italian, until at last the public seemed satisfied with the version of Ant. Martini, Archbishop of Florence, first published in 1769—1779, and since that time frequently reprinted. It is what may be now called the “authorised version” of the Holy Scriptures, and is in the hands of all who delight in Biblical studies.

That country of Europe which, next to Italy, may be considered by Protestants as most hostile to the Bible being translated into the vernacular tongues, is Spain—the dominions of his most Catholic majesty. Yet, we find that in Spain there were versions of the Bible not in one dialect only, but in the various dialects of the various provinces of the

peninsula, that all its people might enjoy the privilege of reading the Word of God in the idiom most familiar to them.

Thus, under Alfonso the Wise, and by direction of that prince, the whole Bible was translated into Castilian, as we learn from the celebrated historian Mariana.—His. d’Esp. Lib. 14, cap. 7. Boniface Ferrier, about the year 1405, gave another version in the Valencian dialect. It was printed various times with the sanction of the Inquisition, and that not in Spain only, but also in the Low Countries, which then formed a portion of the Spanish Empire. Another complete version appeared at Madrid, in 1790, from the pen of Don Felipe Scio de San Miguel, which is reckoned the best in the language, and admired even by Protestants.

England, too, notwithstanding the vulgar belief of the contrary, had, like Italy and Spain, its Bible in the vernacular, long before the epoch of the Reformation. Archbishop Usher, nowise inclined to favour Catholicism, dates the first translation of the Scriptures into English as far back as the year 1290. Was the English tongue in a condition to admit of their being translated into it at an earlier period? We know, at all events that, the entire Bible was translated into Saxon by the learned and venerable Bede previous to the year 735, in which he died. He was followed by other pious and learned men, who from time to time translated the Bible anew, or altered former versions according to the various changes to which living languages are ever subject. We know also that the great King Alfred took much pains to instruct his people: with his own royal hand he wrote a copy of at least a portion of the Bible, translated by himself, as well as some other books of instruction, into the Anglo-Saxon of his time. After him came many “virtuous and well-learned men,” zealous

pastors of the Catholic church, who, at various times, translated the sacred writings from the original tongues into the idioms prevalent in their day among the greatest portion of the nation. Proof positive of all this may be found in Bishop Newcome, and other English Protestant writers, who moreover, add, in the words, I believe, of Sir Thomas More, "that the Bible translated into the English tongue, was, by good and godly people, with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read."—Newcome, p. 11.) Now, from all this it evidently appears, that at no time, since the introduction of Christianity into Britain, were its inhabitants deprived of the Word of God in the vernacular, whether they spoke the Anglo-Saxon language as before the Conquest, or a mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Norman, as after that important event. The church ever addresses her people in the tongue best known by them, and best adapted to convey her instructions to them.

If, from England, we now turn to the birth-place of Protestantism—Germany; we will find, perhaps, to the astonishment of some, that that country (the southern parts of it at least) was teeming with Bibles in the vernacular idiom. Luther's version (1522—1530), of course the first Protestant version, had been preceded by the following Catholic translations from Greek and Hebrew into the vulgar tongue,—not into Latin:—"FUST's, printed at Mentz in 1462; Bemler's, at Augsburg, 1467; by two others at Augsburg and Nuremburg, in 1477; and by four additional ones mentioned by Beausobre, and printed between 1477 and 1522. Dr. Spalding, on the authority of Le Long and the Calvinist, David Clement, speaks of a German Catholic version, printed in 1466, of which two copies are said to be still preserved in the Senatorial Library at Leipsic; and he adds, that of this last version *sixteen* different edi-

tions had been given before 1522,—*one* at Strasburg, *five* at Nuremburg, and *ten* at Augsburg. Add to these, *three* more editions printed at Wittenburg in 1470, 1483 and 1490, and one at Augsburg in 1518, the last four being witnessed to by Seckendorf, Luther's own biographer; and one in Lower Saxon, printed at Lubeck in 1494, and mentioned in Dibdin's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*; finally, one in vulgar tongue, printed at Prague, in 1488, and spoken of by Westwood in his *Paleographia Sacra Pictoria*. Dr. Spalding speaks of three other editions of this Bible, one at Cutna, in 1498, and two at Venice, in 1506 and 1511. Here then are no less than *three and thirty* well vouched for different editions of the Catholic Bible in the vulgar tongues of Germany and Bohemia, all printed and circulated, some for upwards of half a century and more, ere Luther, in 1522, had so much as sent the first page of his Bible to the press."—(See *Bishop Gillis' Letter to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Kirk*, p. 29.)

In Flanders, whose inhabitants are, at the present day, one of the most Catholic nations on the face of the earth, there was no lack of translations of the Scriptures into the common language of the country. For what relates these and other translations into various other European dialects which I have not yet mentioned, I will hold myself indebted to an able article in an early number (2nd) of the "*Dublin Review*:"—"From a fragment of a manuscript Bible, written at Worcester in 1210, we are told by Usher, that the Bible had been translated into Flemish before that time by 'one named Jacobus Merland.' The number of manuscripts does not seem to be considerable: the Bodleian Library has one of the date 1472. But, when the use of printing was introduced, they displayed considerable activity in the publica-

tion of the Bible. It was first printed at Cologne, in 1475; and, without any extraordinary research, we can discover seven new editions before the appearance of the German translation. Two, entirely distinct, were published at Delft, in 1477—the one in folio, the other in quarto; a third at Goude, in 1479; a fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh at Antwerp, 1515, 1525, 1526, 1528. The edition last named, the most correct which had hitherto appeared, was reprinted eight times in the space of seventeen years (See Le Long), and, in 1548, was published at Louvaine, with additional corrections at the hands of Nicholas Van Wingham. The New Testament, translated by Cornelius Hendricks, was published separately at Delft, in 1524. Within thirty years there seem to have been at least ten editions of it at Antwerp alone; and, in the following century, there were several new versions of the entire Bible, as those of De Witt, Laemput, Schurr, and others.”—Page 383.

“A translation of the Scriptures into Polish was made by order of St. Hedwige, wife of the famous Jagellon, Duke of Luthuania, who, upon his marriage with her, was chosen king, under the name of Ladislaus the Fourth. During the same reign (the close of the fourteenth century) there seems to have been a second version, by And. Jassowitz.....John Huss, in one of his controversial tracts, (Replica ad Jann. Stokes) makes a direct allusion to the New Testament in Bohemian. The entire Bible in that language was published at Prague, in 1488: afterwards at Cutna, in 1498, and at Venice, in 1506 and 1511.....A Slavonic version of a great portion of the Bible was printed at Cracow in the beginning of the sixteenth century: in the fourteenth it was translated into Swedish by order of St. Brigette, Queen of Sweden; and, even in the rude dialect of Iceland,

the astronomer, Jonas Arnagrimus, one of the most distinguished among the disciples of Tycho Brahe, speaks of a version in existence at the early date, 1279. Several editions of the Syriac and Arabic Bible were printed at Rome, Venice and Vienna, for the use of the Christian churches of the East. A translation into Ethiopic was published at Rome, in 1548, and some most exquisite editions of the Armenian Bible have issued from the press of the Armenian monks at San Lazaro, one of the Venetian islands.” —(*Dub. Review*, Vol. I., p. 383-4.)

These are facts and dates which no one, at all acquainted with the subject under discussion, can so much as call in question. No one can deny but the Catholic church has, in every age, preserved the Bible, translated the Bible, and written many folio volumes in explanation of the Bible. Yet here, and after admitting all this, Protestants maintain that this same church is unwilling to allow the laity, and even will *not* allow them to read the Bible. We have, they allege, canons and decrees, severe pains and penalties, sentences of excommunication, and all sorts of anathemas in store for those amongst our people, who, without leave, asked and obtained, dare to open the Sacred Volume. They daily address us in such language as this:—“Vainly do you boast of what your church has done to preserve the Scriptures in troublous times and in years long gone by, and to translate them in more recent times : of what use are they to your people ? To them they are a sealed book which they cannot, and dare not if they could, read ; or if you graciously do permit them to read these books, it is on the condition that they call you in to interpret for them according to your whim and pleasure. They have only as much of God’s Word, as you choose to give them ; you do not unlock the sacred fountain and invite all who are athirst to drink their fill.”

To this I oppose a flat and indignant denial. Never have the faithful at large been forbidden to peruse the Word of God ; never did the church put any obstacle in the way of those who honestly and sincerely sought God in his Holy Scriptures ; never did she even discourage the daily and hourly reading of the Book of Life by all her children, who could manage so to read it. With regard to the earlier church this is notorious. Fenelon, in his famous letter on the "Use of the Bible" was so convinced of the fact, that he says,—“It is my opinion, that many writers have given themselves a very needless degree of trouble, to prove what cannot be called in question :—namely, that the laity were wont to read the Bible during the first ages of the church.” Having carefully studied this question, the illustrious Archbishop of Cambray declares himself satisfied of the following facts :—first, that the “Christian public possessed each, in their own languages, both the Bible and their liturgies, which, for their pious education, the very children were made to read ; that the holy pastors of each church were wont, in their sermons, to explain regularly and in order, the entire books of the Scriptures ; that the sacred text was familiar to the people ; that they were continually exhorted to read the holy volume, and blamed if negligent, for the omission ; in short, that the church and its pastors, considered the neglect of the Scriptures both as a source of heresies, and a cause of the relaxation of piety and morals.” And he adds, “the evidence of all this is incontestable, because it is clearly attested by the monuments of antiquity.” Indeed the church never dreamt of even partially withdrawing the Scriptures from the people until compelled to do so by their being grossly abused and perverted. “Before the heresies of Luther,” says Caranza, Archbishop of Toledo, “had come from the infernal

regions to the light of this world, I do not know that the Holy Scriptures, in the vulgar tongue, were any where forbidden. In Spain, Bibles were translated into it by order of the Catholic sovereigns, at the time when the Moors and Jews were allowed to live among the Christians according to their own law. After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the judges of religion found that some of those who had been converted to our holy faith instructed their children in Judaism, and taught them the ceremonies of the law of Moses in the vulgar tongue, which they took care to have printed in Italy, in the town of Ferrara. This is the real cause why Bibles, in the vulgar tongue, were forbidden in Spain; but the possession and reading of them were always allowed to colleges and monasteries, as well as to persons of distinction above all suspicion." Caranza continues to give, in a few words, the history of these prohibitions in Germany, France, and other countries: then he adds, "In Spain, which was, and still is, by the grace and goodness of God, pure from the cockle, care was taken to forbid generally all the translations of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, in order to prevent strangers having an opportunity of holding controversy with simple and ignorant persons, and also because they had, and still have experience of certain particular cases, and of the errors which began to arise in Spain, from the ill-understood reading of certain passages of the Bible. What I have just stated is the real history of what took place; this is why the Bible in the vulgar tongue was prohibited."—*Balmez "Protestantism and Catholicism compared."* Burns and Lambert, London, 1849.

There are evidence equally incontestible and monuments quite as numerous to prove that, when the first ages of the church had passed away she did not,

during the succeeding ages, display less love of and veneration for the Word of God, nor less anxiety to impress it on the minds of her people, nor use less energetic means to enable them to read it. But as far as the duty of instructing the multitude was concerned, the task of the early church was easy compared with that of her mediæval successor. The former had, generally speaking, a more civilized and learned people to teach than that entrusted to the care of the latter. The apostles, and their immediate successors for four centuries, had to address their instructions to polished Greeks and Romans, and the neighbouring nations connected with them. Among these, reading was not a very uncommon accomplishment. In the fifth and following centuries, on the contrary, the pastors of the church had to explain the gospel to rude, proud and conquering barbarians, who overthrew the Roman empire, and who despised the arts and sciences, and held the knowledge of letters in the most sovereign contempt. What wonder, if the pastors of the church, in their exhortations to these unlettered men, insisted less on reading the Scriptures than is fashionable to do now-a-days? There were then few Bibles, and even that few could have been read but by a small number of persons: now, almost every body learns to read, and Bibles numerous as autumnal leaves, are found strewn in every street and choking up the highway. We need not marvel, then, that in such times the people should be exhorted from the pulpit to peruse the Holy Scriptures. But this does not give us a right to condemn the teachers of barbarians for following, in their time, and in the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, a mode of conveying gospel truths, which we do not follow ourselves, and which is not suited to the age we live in. They did what could be done, and their labours

were in due time rewarded by the most successful results. For, it is a fact, that in those days of alleged darkness and non-reading, the priests of the church succeeded most marvellously in teaching the people the Word of God. It is a fact that the people were versed and well learned in all Scriptural lore: for, as we have already observed, every form of speech, every book of every kind—poems, plays, histories, romances—written in the ages we allude to were remarkable for nothing so much as for Scriptural allusions, figures and phraseology.* This

* The attentive student cannot but observe that the middle-age literature had in its object, its general character and tendency, more of a Scriptural nature than the literature of our Bible-reading age. Indeed, were we to judge of the Biblical knowledge of our own times, and of our Protestant countrymen, by the influence which the Bible seems to exercise over our writers and speakers, we should say that it was limited indeed. Protestants have remarked this themselves and have admitted the charge to which they are obnoxious; in this respect a reverend lecturer on infidelity in Glasgow will bear me out in what I here advance:—"Every reader," he says, "may verify it (the irreligious character of our literature) for himself by examining the books that come under his notice, in this point of view. Whether history or poetry, or speculations in moral science, or works of fiction, or the periodicals, it will be found that the mass of our literature is not Christian."—Glasgow, Lectures on Infidelity, p. 144. The same lamentable truth is deplored by Foster in these terms:—"I fear it is incontrovertible that far the greater part of what is termed polite literature, by familiarity with which taste is refined, and the moral sentiments are, in a great measure formed, is hostile to the religion of Christ: partly by introducing, insensibly, a certain order of opinions unconsonant, or, at least, not identical, with the principles of that religion; and, still more, by training the feelings to a habit alien to its spirit. And, in this assertion, I do not refer to writers palpably irreligious, who have laboured and intended to seduce the passions into vice, or the judgment into rejection of divine truth, but to the general assemblage of those elegant and ingenious authors who are read and admired by the Christian world."—Ib. p. 145. This certainly does not

could not proceed from, nor could it suppose, ignorance of the Scriptures. Indeed nothing, in those times, was deemed well written or well spoken that was not written or spoken in almost the very words of the Bible. Maitland, in his "Dark Ages," adduces a striking instance of this feeling. Some four hundred years before the Reformation—at the very time when the darkness of the middle ages must be supposed to have been most intense—Bardo, an humble monk, was elected archbishop of Mentz.

suppose much familiarity with the Bible. Now, that it is so much talked of, it seems to have hardly any influence on the minds of men. It and its doctrines are all but ignored. Robert Hall will explain my idea better than I can do: his words are quoted by Dr. Gregory in his Life of Hall:—"Having been asked his opinion of the moral tendency of Miss Edgeworth's works, he replied,—'In point of tendency I should class her writings among the most irreligious I ever read. Not from any desire she evinces to do mischief, or to unsettle the mind, like some of the insidious infidels of the last century—not so much from any direct attack she makes upon religion as from a universal and studied omission of the subject. In her writings a very high strain of morality is assumed: she delineates the most virtuous characters, and represents them in the most affecting circumstances of life—in sickness, in distress, even in the immediate prospect of eternity, and, finally, sends them off the stage with their virtue unsullied: and all this without the remotest allusion to Christianity, the only true religion. Thus she does not attack religion or inveigh against it, but makes it appear unnecessary, by exhibiting perfect virtue without it....'" Such is the literature of these Bible Society days! The Bible is tossed overboard; people seem ashamed of it. If it be true, as Hallam says, (Liter. vol. I., p. 28), that "the condition and opinions of a people stamp a character on its literature," what, I would ask, are the opinions of the British people with regard to the Bible, if we are to judge of these opinions by our literature? Alas! the literature of the monks and middle ages is far more Biblical than ours; and yet our learned Protestant rabbis would make us believe that the good monks were hostile to the Bible, and that the middle ages neither knew it nor cared for it!!!

The Emperor invited him to preach before the court, allowing him a part of three short days to prepare himself for, to him, so unusual a task. The archbishop's appearance was not, it would seem, very prepossessing, at least in the eyes of the courtiers. They already set him down as an illiterate man, whose ignorance of the Scriptures more particularly would, on the first occasion, cover him with shame and disgrace. He preached, however, on the appointed day, but in such a style as to astonish at once, and confound his enemies. Maitland gives lengthy extracts from the archbishop's sermon, and he adds,—“These extracts may give the reader some idea of the sermon, and whatever a severe criticism might find to say respecting the taste or the truth of some of the applications, I feel that I may confidently ask whether it does not imply *a greater familiarity with the Scriptures in both the preacher and the hearers, than most people would give them credit for?* When it is considered how small a part I have given, and that *the whole is characterised by the same Biblical phraseology*, it really does appear to me surprising, how any man could, on such notice” (a few hours) “put together such a string of texts at a period when Concordances, Common-place books, and other pulpit assistants had not been invented.”—Page 478-90.

From this incident in the life of the Venerable and learned Bardo, we may deduce several inferences, all tending to show that the Bible was not an unknown book during even the darkest period of the “dark ages.” It evidently appears that the people expected the preacher to be well versed in Scripture; they would have despised him had he not been so. Bardo displayed, on the shortest notice, a prodigious knowledge of the Bible; so much so, as to delight his audience and to cause them, notwithstanding

their previous prejudices, to declare him worthy of the popedom. Does this argue ignorance of the Bible, or hostility to the Bible on the part of people, priests, or pope? No; but it shows the idea Christians then had of one, at least, of the qualifications most likely to raise a bishop to the papal throne—a thorough knowledge of, and a great familiarity with, the Divine writings.

On the part of Protestants, who cannot deny the facts which we have just recorded, the answer will be a reference to a canon of the Council of Toulouse, and to the fourth rule of the Index, perhaps also to the encyclical letters of popes, condemning the English Bible societies and their efforts to spread copies of the Bible in Italy and other Catholic countries. Well, be it so; this objection has often been made already, and as often triumphantly refuted. We will, however, take it up anew, and endeavour to show how utterly groundless it is; we will endeavour to remove every possible difficulty connected with the Council of Toulouse, the fourth rule of the Index, and the papal denunciations of Bible societies, as set on foot by British or American heresy.

First of all, let it be clearly understood that, neither in ancient nor in modern times, did the Catholic church make any general law prohibiting the faithful from reading, when they pleased, and as much as they pleased, the Holy Scriptures, either in the original languages, or in accurate and faithful translations. On the contrary, it has always been her most ardent wish that all her children should read piously, humbly, and in a prayerful mind, the Word of God, aware, as St. Chrysostom says, “that the ignorance of the Scriptures is the source both of the contagion of heresies and of the corruption of morals.”

When, however, Christianity had existed 1229

years, and when, during that long lapse of time, the church had never found it necessary to restrain by any law the people from freely perusing the Scriptures, she found herself at last under the necessity to act in a manner she never had done before, she was compelled to forbid, to a certain extent, and to a portion of her people, the indiscriminate reading of the Bible. The case was this. There prevailed at that time, in the south of France, and especially in and around Toulouse, a heresy, or rather a multiplicity of heresies, which, had they not been repressed in time, would have ruined morality and overthrown society. This was the Socialism of the middle ages. Horrible to relate! one leading doctrine of this heresy was that the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, was not the Word of God, was not inspired, and should not be received as containing divine truth. Many had fallen into this abyss of error by injudiciously reading and interpreting the Bible, and the diffusion of the Bible in corrupt translations was the principal means used by the heretics to spread their moral poison and seduce the simple and unthinking crowd. What wonder if, under such circumstances, the church was led to modify a part of her discipline? What wonder if she endeavoured to prevent for a time those from reading the Bible, the fruits of whose reading were the sad conclusion that the Bible was not the Bible, that is, the inspired Word of God? The only marvel in my eyes is, that in this, or in any age, there should be found any one to censure the church for acting as she did, under the trying circumstances we have explained. As it was, the church did not wholly prohibit the use of the Scriptures; she merely explained when, in what spirit, and for what purposes, they should be read. She withdrew them only from the hand that profaned them, from the

eye that scanned them with evil intent. The wise man tells us there is a time for every thing, and, among other things, "a time for reading." But surely the time for calmly and humbly perusing the Word of God, (and vainly would we otherwise peruse it,) is not when fanaticism, like a mountain torrent, is sweeping all before it and hurrying infatuated men into the most deplorable excesses. Let the storm blow over; let the public mind, unduly excited for a time, return to its wonted calm; and then may Christians, wisely withheld for a time from the perusal of the sacred oracles, safely resume their holy readings.* (For an account of the Manichean heresy, to which we have just referred, see *Bossuet's History of the Variations*, and the 13th Book of *Hurter's Life of Innocent III.*)

The object of the Rules of the Index (a list of bad or dangerous books), so much complained of by some Protestants, was the same as that of the canon of the Council of Toulouse, whose merits we have just been discussing. They who drew up those Rules, that is, a committee appointed by the Council of Trent, never intended to debar the people from the study of the Scriptures, but they wished to guard against unfair translations; they wished, also, during a period when some countries of Europe were labouring under a mental epidemic, to withdraw from a too intense study of the divine books men, whose state of mind, and, perhaps, evil intentions,

* The learned and candid among Protestants have long admitted that the Catholic church does not withhold the Scriptures from her children. "It is," says Rob. Adam, "a common mistake among Protestants to suppose that the Catholic laity are debarred the use of the Scriptures, and that the Catholic church never authorizes any translation of them into modern languages."—*Religious World Displayed*, vol. II., page 78.

unfitted them for study of any kind connected with religion. Hence that famous Fourth Rule of the Index, directing that not all men but certain individuals only should be forbidden to read the Scriptures without the advice and permission of their spiritual guides—those whom, as Catholics, they considered as the guardians of the faith—and who, as St. Paul says, would one day have to give “an account of their souls.” The Council of Toulouse, and the committee appointed by the Council of Trent laid no other obligation on the faithful than this. They attempted to direct, not to prohibit Scripture studies. Less could not be claimed by pastors who deemed themselves accountable to God for the flocks entrusted to them. Moreover the regulations made at Toulouse, being the work of a provincial council, were not obligatory beyond the limits of the province; and the Rules of the Index, like the disciplinary laws of the Council of Trent, were binding only on those countries who adopted them. At the same time it should be observed that, even those who came within reach of these regulations were not wholly debarred from the use of the Scriptures. They were at liberty to read the whole Sacred Volume if so advised by their pastors; and, besides, they had, in the books containing the church service, a great portion of the Scriptures, which they were called on to read every day, or, at least, as often as they assisted at the divine offices in the church. That is to say, the most plain and practical parts of the Bible were ever in their hands, and read for them when they would not, or could not, read themselves; and they were only prevented from poring over those passages of the sacred books of which the wide spread popular misinterpretations were giving rise to controversies, were favouring heresy, creating discord, causing strife, confiscation, sacrilege, murder,

and the most desolating wars with which Christian Europe had ever been cursed.

In defence of the encyclical letters of the present or former pontiffs condemning the Bible societies, and their efforts to pour in their inaccurate versions into the papal states and other Catholic countries, little need be said. Were these societies animated with even the best intentions, did they only intend to establish more firmly, instead of upsetting Catholicism, the supreme head of the Catholic Church on earth could not be censured for his conduct towards them. He might even then say to them,—“Gentlemen, whence come ye? By whose authority have ye invaded our spiritual domains? This is our vineyard, who hath called you to labour therein? We have hitherto cultivated it without your assistance, and by God’s help we can do so still. Please move away to some unoccupied field and till it with all that zeal which would be thrown away here.” Thus might the holy pontiff address friends and brothers. Why then blame him; why find fault with his language, when he speaks in terms scarcely more severe to open and declared enemies—to men who come from a foreign country, almost from the utmost ends of the earth, for the express purpose of disseminating a different translation of Scripture from his own, incomplete as to canonical books, and accompanied with this effect,—that whosoever should take it at their hands could not fail to have ever before his mind, while reading it, a remembrance of the peculiar interpretation assigned by the donor to a thousand passages, perhaps doubtful if taken alone and litigiously handled? The opposition of the pope to these societies is construed into an opposition to the sacred Scriptures themselves. We need hardly say that this is a false construction. The holy father, of course, objects to the Bible societies

and their Bibles, but he objects to them, among other reasons, on this account—that these societies are insincere, and their Bibles are inaccurate. The Bible societies are insincere: they pretend to be the friends of rational freedom and of Italy; and they have made common cause with rationalism, radicalism, socialism, communisms, and revolutionists of every kind. They affect great regard for the Scriptures; and yet they mix them up and circulate them with infidel tracts, prefaces, and revolutionary pamphlets. Then their Bibles are inaccurate: they are so translated as to express, on many occasions, not the thoughts and will of God, but the ideas and doctrines of English, German, and American infidels and heretics. It is not, then, THE BIBLE that the pope condemns, when he pronounces against the Bible societies and their colporteurs: he merely denounces a bad translation of the best of books, an unfaithful, unauthentic version of the pure Word of God. The pope loves the Bible—no one can love it more; but he cannot be supposed to have much affection for the daring men who first corrupt it, that by means of it they may corrupt his people. These he condemns, and none else. Let the venerable head of the Church under Christ speak for himself:—

“Among the divers kinds of frauds by which the most crafty enemies of the church and of human society strive to lead the people astray, that certainly stands among the foremost which they had prepared long ago in their nefarious designs, and which they have discovered in the wicked use of the new system of book-making, (*novæ artis librariæ*). To this, therefore, they direct all their attention, that they may never cease publishing among the vulgar, and multiplying impious pamphlets, journals, and fly sheets, full of falsehood, calumnies and seductions. Nay,

using even the assistance of the Bible societies, which have been long condemned by this Holy See, they do not fear to scatter abroad the sacred Scriptures translated, contrary to the rules of the church, into the vulgar tongue, and so corrupted, and, by a detestable daring, distorted to a false sense; and under the pretence of religion to recommend the reading thereof to the people." These are the words of the Vicar of Christ in his last encyclical letter dated from Portici, on the 8th of December, 1849. They do not bear out his enemies who accuse him of being hostile to the Scriptures. His hostility—a very legitimate one—extends only to those who pervert and circulate perverse translations of the Scriptures, denuded of those brief notes on controverted passages which the church, as guardian of the written Word and of the true faith of Christ, has felt bound to append to the pages of Scripture in times of heresy and schism. For such services as these every true friend of revelation and its sacred records should applaud him; and they only can condemn the pontiff, be they Biblicals or not, who, in their secret soul, have already condemned the Bible itself.

CHAPTER V.

HAPPY RESULTS OF THE TEACHING OF THE CATHOLIC
CHURCH.

LET us now turn our attention to the effects which have resulted from the mode of dealing with the Bible, early adopted and constantly persevered in by the Catholic church. If it be true, as urged by Protestants, that she is hostile to the Scriptures, and that she withholds them from the people, one thing at least is certain, and that is, that notwithstanding this alleged hostility, the Catholic church has done more to spread Christianity, and to root out idolatry—she has been more successful in implanting in the heart, and ingrafting on the manners of men, feelings and usages in harmony with Christianity, than they who print and distribute Bibles by the million. This is a fact, open and patent to all, and which, when duly weighed, must have its influence on thinking minds. We shall, therefore, lay it as clearly as we can, and in some detail, before our readers.

It was by teaching the Word of God and his holy law in the manner we allude to (the only manner in which it could in the early ages, or, indeed, ever can be effectually taught) that the immediate successors of the apostles succeeded in converting to the faith multitudes, here and there at first, and, by degrees, the vast population subject to the empire of the Cæsars. Nor was their success limited to the Roman provinces. In the course of little more than two centuries the Christian religion had numerous adherents, and exercised much influence over a great portion of the then known world. And, in those times, men were

not merely nominal Christians: they were ever ready, and often called upon, to shed their blood for the faith. The ten persecutions which they endured under the pagan emperors, and the still greater and more prolonged cruelties of the Persian kings, are matter of history, which the infidel, Gibbon, might indeed seek to gloss over, but could not deny. Now, it is well known that, in those trying times, there was no such mania for the distribution in order to the private interpretation of the Bible as characterises the days we live in, and, we may say, the whole period subsequent to the Reformation.

Then, no doubt, as in all times, Christian men loved the Word of God and read it. That we have already seen at considerable length; but they loved it with an enlightened love, and not with blind passion: and they read it humbly in that sense in which it was explained to them by that church to which Christ said,—“Go and teach all nations.” They never dreamed of setting up their own interpretation in opposition to hers, yet they were enlightened Christians, before whose superior information pagan ignorance and superstition were daily giving way: they were pious and sincere Christians, whose virtues no coming age shall cease to admire; they were true disciples of the Son of God, for they took up their cross and followed him even unto the death; they died for him not reluctantly, and in small numbers, but most willingly, in raptures of joy, and in numbers so great as to baffle calculation. It is pretty clear then, that in the days of primitive fervour and purity, piety flourished not the less among Christians because of their suffering the church to interpret the Scriptures for them, instead of pretending, according to modern fashion, to read and interpret each for himself.

Not only did the church-taught Catholics of old

overcome the persecutors and survive persecution,—they did something still more wonderful,—they civilized barbarian conquerors. The Goths and Visigoths, the Franks, the Huns, the Danes, the Normans, and the countless other tribes which poured in upon and upset the Roman Empire, were in their turn, and shortly after their triumphs, subdued by the power of the gospel—not the gospel read and interpreted by themselves,—they could neither read nor interpret—but the gospel read, preached, and carefully explained to them by apostolic men—the bishops and priests of the church. Had St. Remigius been content to copy and scatter Bibles among the brave but rude followers of Clovis, would that monarch and his warlike Franks have ever enjoyed the light of the gospel? Had the Germanic tribes refused to listen to the voice of St. Boniface and his holy coadjutors—had they claimed, as modern Germans now claim, the right to read and expound for themselves, at what period, we ask, would they have forsaken their idols to embrace Christianity? When would the Scandinavians, instructed by the Bible alone, without the lessons delivered by the living voice of the church, have built in the midst of their snows the magnificent churches which even yet astonish the traveller in Norway and Sweden, and other regions of the north? The people of these countries and of most other countries of modern Europe, not excepting our own Caledonian and Pictish ancestors, were reclaimed, from a state of semi-savageness, by the church and her holy institutions, and not by perusing in their woods and mountain-fastnesses the Scriptures, which, indeed, they neither could read nor understand, as experience with regard to other savage nations and common sense irrefragably prove. For, as we shall see by and bye, the Holy Scriptures, apart from the authoritative and *viva voce*

teaching of the church, have never yet sufficed to convert any nation from ignorance and idolatry to the light of Christianity. To succeed in effecting this miraculous change was a blessing reserved to the church of Christ alone.

If you ask me why, how, and by what means the church was so successful in propagating the gospel and subduing the savage nature of man to the yoke of Christ; my answer is,—It was her business, her duty, her noble destiny—God sent her on this very errand: he imposed this task upon her, giving her, at the same time, such gifts as would enable her to perform it, and promising never to forsake her:—“Go,” say he, “I am with you; fear not.” In effecting this great work the means employed by the church were simply these:—she preached, she prayed, she practised every virtue, she taught by word and example. No doubt she carried the Bible in her hand; but it was still more in her heart: its blessed words were ever on her lips—the people received them from these truthful lips, and treasured them up with much care. The pastors of those days did not, like modern missionaries among the heathen, order the uninitiated to read the Bible: these simple men could not read,—but they who could, read it, and explained it according to times and circumstances, and the capacity of their hearers; they took care, also, to practice what they preached, well aware that even such as were too ignorant to read the written Word itself, would not fail to read and learn too, the lessons of virtue which the preachers of that Word might be able to give by leading a pure, disinterested and virtuous life.*

* The wise economy of the Catholic church with regard to the use to be made of the Scriptures in the conversion of nations, is admirably illustrated in the respective conduct of

To aid in the great work of civilizing and Christianizing our barbarian forefathers, the church established monasteries, built churches, opened schools, collected libraries and multiplied books, sacred and profane. The monasteries, planted thickly here and there over the wide domains of the church, as God enabled her to extend those domains,

two illustrious and saintly Catholic prelates—Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, and the famous Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. About the close of the fifteenth century these great bishops were actively engaged in converting to Christianity the Moors of Spain, recently conquered by the Catholic sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella. Talavera, with ancient piety and primitive simplicity, would at once have put the Scriptures, translated into the vernacular, into the hands of the reluctant infidels; Ximenes, a better judge of the times, and better acquainted with human nature, would have acted with more reserve, and, by previous discipline, would have prepared minds, hitherto accustomed to the loose morality of the Koran, to receive the gospel truth and its stern maxims. Prescott, who relates the fact here alluded to, attributes, as most Protestants will attribute the decision of Ximenes, to the hatred which, they charitably imagine, all Catholics bear towards the Scriptures, and to their free circulation. But Ximenes fortunately tells us himself on what grounds he based his opinion. “It would be throwing pearls before swine,” said he, “to open the Scriptures to persons in their low state of ignorance, who could not fail, as St. Peter says, to wrest them to their own destruction. . . .” Ximenes did not object to the Scriptures, the whole Scriptures, being explained to the Arabs: he did not object to the catechisms and the offices of the church and all her religious services being put into the hands of these people; but he did object to their being called upon to hew out the Christian religion from the Scriptural rock without the aid of more skilful hands than their own. The result justified the accuracy of his judgment. He *did* convert the Moors, and this is more than can be said of any Protestant missionaries in any part of the world. With all their Bibles they have never yet brought to the faith of Christ any considerable nation or numerous people either in the Mahometan or Pagan portion of the world.—*Prescott's Isabella and Ferdinand*, Vol. II., p. 378.

were productive of much good: they were, for days together, a home to the houseless and hungry traveller, a refuge for youth, an asylum for old age, a nursery for young Levites, and often a resting-place for the worn-out missionary, when, from infirmity and old age, he could no longer continue his wonted labours. They supplied moreover, to the surrounding country the best lessons in the arts and sciences, in agriculture and architecture, as well as in the useful virtues of temperance, frugality, activity, and perseverance. The holy and mortified monk rose early, toiled hard, lived simply and frugally; and the superabundant wealth of his cloister—the reward of skill and persevering industry—was doled out with no niggardly hand to rich and poor: he was ever bestowing alms. During a famine a single Benedictine monastery was, on one occasion, known to distribute, in one day, 17,000 rations to the poor. The churches, too, especially the cathedral churches, where dwelt the bishops and the choicest of his clergy, were a great help in the noble work of spreading at once civilization and Christianity among modern nations. The often sublime appearance of their exterior, the numerous and frequently rich ornaments of their interior, the touching ceremonies performed around the altar, the instructions and exhortations from the pulpit, and the solemn admonitions given in the confessional could not fail to produce their effect. The people built their huts around these noble edifices; they were attentive worshippers on Sundays and days of blessed festival, of course, and often too, as is still the custom in Catholic countries, in the morning and in the evening of every day. On such men, ever, as it were, within hearing of the gospel, and ever seeing religious holy rites and ceremonies, a favourable impression was insensibly but surely made. Hence the devout zeal, the

humble piety, the many virtues of our Christian forefathers, who, with fewer Bibles in their hand, had the doctrines of the Bible more deeply impressed on their hearts than we have; and, with less ostentatious knowledge, had more real virtue than the men of our day.

Of the cloister libraries, too, and schools, great use was made by the church in the arduous task of subjecting to the faith of Christ, and the laws of civilized society, the barbarous hordes who upset the empire of ancient Rome. These libraries and schools, with the monasteries to which they were attached were, at first, often destroyed by the invaders, as by the Danes in Britain, and on the Continent by the warlike tribes that from time to time overran Europe from one extremity to another. But the church, fated never to die, repaired, in the course of a few years of peace and prosperity, the damage she had suffered in troublous times. The noble monasteries of our own Scotland were, in many instances, reduced to ashes by the armies of England, and as often repaired again by the zeal of the church when the tumult of war had passed away. From them went forth, at all times, men of learning and of piety, not Bible distributors, but zealous apostles full of Bible doctrines, which they fearlessly and faithfully preached to their semi-savage countrymen, whose hands could well grasp the sword and throw the javelin, but had never yet learned to turn over the leaves of a book. Yet the church succeeded in taming and subduing them by addressing them in a language, the only one they could understand,—that which appealed to the senses. To them, her ceremonies, her varied and oft repeated verbal instructions and explanations of the gospel, her pictures, her images, her noble buildings, her richly cultivated fields, her orchards and gardens blooming with

flowers, and rich in fruit in the land of heath and mists and snows, were so many books ever open which the most ignorant could read. And that they did read them to some purpose is clear from the fact that having, amidst so many difficulties, to address men so proud, so independent, so unlettered, so devoted to war, so hostile to the arts of peace, the church gradually gained on their esteem and won their affections. At first they burned churches and monasteries—they were soon taught to rebuild them : they held for awhile letters and learned men in contempt ; they became, in the course of time, lovers of literature, and learned men themselves, as much so, at least, as the great bulk of men can become learned. Under the influence of the church, and of her mode of teaching, the ignorance and barbarism superinduced by the advance of the northern barbarians into the civilized portion of Europe gradually passed away. Thanks to her, and to her admirable institutions, the “darkest ages” subsequent to the fall of the Roman Empire, were never wholly destitute of light, and they produced many truly eminent men who would do honour to any age.

Although, as was meet, the church mainly occupied herself with the science of salvation, and that kind of knowledge which pertains to the other world ; yet, it were doing her an injustice to imagine that she did nothing to extend the empire of even profane learning. The truth is, she saved the arts and sciences from total shipwreck, and but for her the admirable languages of Greece and Rome, with all the treasures to which they supply the key, would long since have utterly perished. The ecclesiastical persons, who taking the Eternal City as their starting point, spread fast and far over every European country to diffuse the knowledge of God and of his revealed faith, carried with them no inconsiderable knowledge of the lan-

guages, arts, and sciences, and mechanical skill of better times gone by. This knowledge, limited though it may have been, was by these wise men, turned to good account. Wherever they obtained a footing, things began to improve. From the days of Charlemagne, Schlegel observes, manuscripts and learned men to read them, became daily more numerous—learning, sacred and profane, was constantly advancing. The author of the *Reserches sur l'histoire litteraire et Religieuse* of Rome avers that, so early as the seventh century, the better classes in the city of Rome were familiar with the Greek and Latin classics, and were wont to read Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, and other ancient authors of less repute. Even in our own northern regions, where one would least expect to find erudition, the monk of Melrose, who wrote the chronicle of his abbey, was sufficiently learned to quote Aristotle de Animalibus and Pliny on natural history. We doubt whether many of our modern ministers, the learned successors of the “ignorant” monks, be very familiar with the writings of the Greek philosopher or the Roman naturalist; we doubt whether these worthies of the olden times be as frequent and welcome visitors in modern manses as they were in ancient monasteries.

At all events this growing taste for the classic lore of ancient times, was a sure index of the civilizing effects of Catholic teaching, and proved that, under the direction of the pastors of the church explaining the Bible, the Franks had already made considerable progress in learning. When rude, roving, and warlike tribes, laying aside their arms and predatory habits, betake themselves to the study of letters, we may safely conclude that a new and better era has commenced in their history. Thus it was with regard to those about whom we are writing. From

the bosom of that barbarism which overwhelmed the Roman empire, there arose, under the auspices of Catholicism, a multitude of new nations, differing in many respects, yet assimilated in others, and bound together by (the strongest of all ties) a common faith and form of worship. From the day on which each of these nations embraced Christianity, they made continual progress in civilization, in the arts and sciences, in the comforts of life, in all that improves the mind and elevates the soul. Christendom under Catholicism, that is, the Bible doctrines authoritatively taught, was, in a religious point of view, one vast republic. Its head on earth was the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, the common father of all the faithful divinely appointed to direct the whole church, and, in union with his brother bishops, to decide all questions relating to faith and morality, and govern, with paternal care, the whole flock of Christ committed to his keeping. Faithfully and well, with but few and insignificant exceptions, did the bishops of Rome perform their noble task. Wherever their voice could reach, wherever the foot of their missionaries could penetrate, they renewed the face of the earth. When the empire of Rome had fallen, when literature and the the arts had all but become extinct, when calamities almost unparalleled had laid prostrate the nations, when Rome itself had again and again been taken and sacked by barbaric armies, when times were at the worst, and many imagined that the end was come, God, in his mercy, provided a remedy for so many evils. The popes relieved as far as they could, and much more than any one else could relieve, the oppressed people : under their fostering care literature revived, the fine arts flourished anew, another empire was created, new kingdoms were established, society was built on a foundation more solid and

secure than it had ever yet rested on. In achieving all this the Vicars of the Son of God, after God himself, and with his grace, were chiefly instrumental. Modern Europe, with all its best institutions, its improved laws, its literature, and learning, and arts, save the cruel art of war, is the work of the papacy and of Catholicism. In proof of this we need only point to the fact that, in the path of enlightenment and social progress, Italy, with the bishops of Rome at its head, was ever foremost. Italy was, and still is, in some respects, the school of nations. She was the first to improve her language, and form it, such as it now is: her poets, her historians, her orators, her novelists, her natural philosophers, her painters, and architects, all literary men; her writers in every department of human science were the first, in point of time, and as regards merit have not often been surpassed by less ancient authors. As there are ebbs and flows in the ocean, Italy had its times of more or less progress. But, bating occasional checks, the result of troublous times, and other calamities to which men are subject, it is an undeniable fact that, from the days of Charlemagne to those of Luther, Italy was, herself, ever advancing and leading other nations in her wake along the glorious path of light and learning and true liberty. Her pontiffs were ever sending missionaries to convert the yet unconverted heathen: they marched armies and equipped fleets to repel the Mahometans rushing with fanatical fury on the West; and, when after the fall of Constantinople, the East had irretrievably sunk under the ignoble yoke of Islamism, the pontiffs of Rome received with open arms the timid Greeks who fled into Italy loaded with the remnants of oriental learning—the invaluable relics of both pagan and Christian Greece. All this has been admitted by learned men, hostile in other respects to

Catholicism. Hallam, in his history of the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is very explicit on this head, and we beg to refer our readers to his learned pages (which see, *passim*).

It is a fact then, beyond all dispute, that Catholicism, and by that we here mean Catholic teaching, civilized modern Europe; that is, gradually elevated its populations from that state of barbarism and idolatry in which they were immersed when they overturned the Roman empire, to that state of social comfort and refinement in which we now behold them. To it they owe their superiority in the arts and sciences—their literature, more rich and varied than that of antiquity, their humane feelings and polished manners, all that renders the Christian world a better world to live in, than the heathen world of old.

But there is one boon, an invaluable one, which Catholicism has conferred on the human race, a boon which was not formerly in the power of pagan philosophy, and which is not now in that of the Protestant Bible to confer—the emancipation of the slave population. By a virtue, peculiar to herself, the Catholic church abolished slavery over her wide domains. In achieving this, she performed a greater feat than when she civilized the barbarian hordes in the north and east of Europe. The existence of slavery is compatible with an advanced state of civilization. The most polished nations of antiquity had their slaves: even the Jewish law tolerated, to a certain extent, the bondage of man to his fellows. The religion of Christ, more perfect than that of Moses, set men free, declaring that he, on whose soul the image of God was stamped, should be no man's slave, but God's own free servant. This emancipation of the human race is a real triumph to Catholicism, and one in which no other religion, of any age or country,

can claim a share. Not that of Greece, refined as her people were, the number of her slaves greatly surpassed that of her free citizens: not that of Rome,—it was her ambition to enslave the world; her pride to lead vanquished monarchs in chains to her dungeons, while she held millions of their, and of her own, subjects in the most cruel bondage: not that of Mahomet,—the slave markets of Constantinople are to this day the disgrace of Europe and of Asia: not that of the United States,—there, slavery flourishes in the bosom of a powerful and proud republic:—not that of England,—she, too, has had her slave colonies. We admit that she found it at last expedient to manumit her bondsmen: she has declared war against slavery all the world over. She has failed, however, to effect her noble purposes. Irresistible on other occasions, here her fleets, her armies, her gold, even her very Bible, in which she puts so much trust, have stood her in little stead. There, where she exerted herself most to put down the traffic in slaves, it exists to a greater extent, and is carried on in a more cruel manner than before. No influence, no power on earth, has yet succeeded in putting a stop to that iniquitous commerce—the sale of man by his brother man—but that of Catholicism. The teaching of the Catholic church accomplished that which the philosophy of the heathens never attempted, and which the Bible of Protestants, privately interpreted, never was able to accomplish: it shivered those adamantine chains which held full one-half of God's children in vile bondage to the other.

It has often struck us that the fate of the slave is intimately connected with, and greatly depends on, that of Catholicism:—When she is prosperous and free, and her action for good nowise impeded, his chains hang more loosely on his limbs; when she is persecuted and oppressed, his fetters are more

closely riveted. The Catholic priest, every where the friend of the sad and the suffering, is the missionary, who, above all others, gains, even in Protestant countries, the affections of the slave population. The oppressed draw towards him as it were by instinct, and cling to him with a faith and a confidence which they repose in none besides. English travellers in America have been edified as well as surprised at the care bestowed on the negroes by the Catholic missionaries, and the success with which they have laboured to make them men and Christians. Mr. Hamilton, in his "Men and Manners in America," eloquently expresses his feelings in this regard:—"Both Catholic and Protestant agree," says he (p. 343), "in the tenet that all men are equal in the sight of God; but the former alone gives practical exemplification of his creed. In a Catholic church the prince and the peasant, the slave and his master, kneel before the same altar in temporary oblivion of all wordly distinctions. They come there but in one character, that of sinners; and no rank is felt or acknowledged but that connected with the offices of religion. Within these sacred precincts the vanity of the rich man receives no incense; the proud are not flattered, the humble are not abashed. The stamp of degradation is obliterated from the forehead of the slave, when he beholds himself admitted to the community of worship with the highest and noblest in the land."

"But in Protestant churches a different rule prevails. People of colour are excluded altogether, or are mewed up in some remote corner, separated by barriers from the body of the church. It is impossible to forget their degraded condition, even for a moment. It is brought home to their feelings in a thousand ways. No white Protestant would kneel at the same altar with a black one. He asserts his superiority

every where, and the very hue of his religion is affected by the colour of his skin. From the hands of the Catholic priest the poor slave receives all the consolations of religion; he is visited in sickness, and consoled in affliction; his dying lips receive the consecrated wafer; and in the very death agony, the last voice that meets his ear is that of his priest, uttering the sublime words, 'Depart, Christian soul.' Can it be wondered, therefore, that the slaves in Louisiana are all Catholics; that while the congregation of the Protestant church consists of a few ladies, arrayed in well-cushioned pews, the whole floor of the extensive Catholic cathedral should be crowded with worshippers of all colours and classes."

"From all I could learn, the zeal of the Catholic priests is highly exemplary. They never forget that the most degraded of human forms is animated by a soul, as precious in the eyes of religion as that of the sovereign pontiff. The arms of the church are never closed against the meanest outcast of society. Divesting themselves of all pride of caste, they mingle with the slaves, and certainly understand their character far better than any other body of religious teachers. I am not a Catholic, but I cannot suffer prejudice of any sort to prevent my doing justice to a body of Christian ministers, whose zeal can be animated by no hope of worldly reward, and whose humble lives are passed in diffusing the influence of divine truth, and communicating to the meanest and most despised of mankind the blessed comforts of religion."

It is a remarkable fact, that, from the dawn of Christianity,—from the time when St. Paul wrote an epistle in favour of the fugitive Onesimus,—the condition of the slave continued to improve in proportion as Catholicism acquired influence, and spread over

the world. When, at length, it became the dominant religion—the religion of Europe—slavery ceased to exist altogether. On the other hand, in those regions which never acknowledged the religion of the Son of God, and the supremacy of the Roman pontiff, servitude has ever existed. And strange to say, at the time of the Reformation, when a large portion of the Christian world rebelled against Rome, that slavery, which the influence of Rome had so long abolished, was again called into existence. It would seem as if the Almighty, to punish our pride, suffers a portion of the human race to feel all the ills of real bondage, when, by rejecting the lawful authority delegated by him to the successor of St. Peter, we shake off his own sweet yoke. Let Christians return to their allegiance to the Vicar of Christ: let his influence for good be now what it was in the best ages of the Christian era, and then, and not till then will his authority achieve that which nought besides ever can achieve,—the emancipation, for the second time, of man from degrading bondage to man.

Heresy and unbelief, we are aware, will meet such reasoning as this with sardonic scorn. Let them do so; the facts of history are on our side; we argue from analogy. Our principle is,—“What once was, may be a second time.” And that it was the papal power, the influence of Catholicism duly exercised, that did, in former times extinguish slavery, may be shortly proved from most authentic documents.

When first Christianity began to cause its influence to be felt by the Romans, not only was the empire teeming with slaves in the proper and ordinary sense of that word, but the whole people and the very senate itself, had lost its independence. All classes of men were then groaning under the cruel tyranny of the Emperor and the army. In the time of

Tacitus there remained only the vestiges of departing liberty—*morientis vestigia libertatis*. It had sunk under the wealth and vices of the republic. Catholicism would have regenerated the people, and might have saved the empire ; but it may be said of Rome as it was said of Jerusalem,—“ She would not be healed.” She resisted and rejected Christianity until the measure of God’s wrath was full—until the barbarous hordes driven, in former times, far beyond the frontiers into the north and east, recruiting their numbers and improving their discipline, came, at the appointed time, in the hour of Rome’s weakness, to chastise her pride and glut their justly enkindled “ire.” As all the world knows the empire sank under their blows, and they settled in, and took possession of, her richest provinces. In the midst of this general wreck all perished save the Christian religion. To it was reserved the glorious task of reconstructing society ; and to this task the church applied herself with zeal, vigour, and ultimately with complete success.

From society, as thus reconstructed by her, the church determined to eliminate one thing which had disgraced all former periods of the world’s history : she resolved that, in the Christian commonwealth, where all men are deemed brothers, there should not be heard the sigh of the slave. This resolve was worthy of her, and she knew, for God was her guide, how to carry it into effect.

However anxious the church was to manumit the slave population, prudence taught her that the good work could not be done all at once. The misfortunes of the times had made the slaves a numerous body, and the cruelty of their masters had reduced them to a state of the most abject degradation. So far back as the time of Homer it was urged that Jupiter, that the gods themselves, “ had deprived these unfortu-

nate beings of half their mind," (Odyss. 17.) The philosophers of Greece were not ashamed to profess the same belief. It became, indeed, universal; so that by common consent they were doomed to a fate little better than that of horses and other beasts of burden, and their masters were at liberty to put them to death for any or almost no fault.

Catholicism taught another doctrine:—in her eyes and in her language all men are equal before God—they are all his children, and whosoever, unless for a just cause, and in a legal way, sheds the blood of man is guilty of that blood, and shall have to account for it. In accordance with this belief, her feelings, her wishes, her charity, prompted her to instant and universal emancipation; but she wisely conceived that neither the free portion of the human family, nor even the enslaved, could be prepared in one day for so great a revolution. It would have upset society. It would have proved disastrous to all parties. The masters, unaccustomed to toil themselves, could not have managed to dispense with so many servants, and such was the imbecility of the servants, superinduced by centuries of oppression, that they were not fit to be their own masters. The fields would have remained untilled—commerce would have stood still—the every day business of life could not have been transacted—the world would have been thrown into the greatest confusion, from which would have resulted famine, robberies, murders, and internecine wars.

To avoid evils so great and so imminent, the church prepared both masters and servants for the coming change. She told the former,—“Masters do to your servants that which is just, knowing that you also have a master in heaven.”—(Coloss. iv., 1.) Treat your servants with kindness now, and be prepared by and bye to set them free. “They were

God's children before they were your slaves: they are a property which you cannot hold; train them, therefore, for that state of freedom to which, in common justice, they are entitled." To the latter she said, "your day of liberty is approaching, but not yet come; you are not yet ready for the marvellous change it will bring about; "count," therefore, in the mean time 'your masters worthy of all honour.' (Tim. vi., 1.) And obey them yet for a little. You and they are brethren: there is but one God—one Father in heaven, and his children should form only one family here on earth. Prepare yourselves, then, by adopting new and generous feelings, virtuous habits, lofty sentiments, for your admission, on equal terms, into that society of God's children from which you have been so unjustly excluded."

Having duly, and for a sufficient length of time, inculcated on masters and slaves the doctrines we have thus slightly referred to, having carefully prepared both for the great social revolution she was so anxious to bring about, she used all her influence, she put forth all her strength, she made law after law, she subjected herself to great pecuniary sacrifices to effect her noble design. Thanks to her zeal, and energy, and perseverance, slavery had, long previous to Luther's Reformation, disappeared from Catholic Europe. Her proceedings, in achieving this glorious result are briefly recapitulated in the following terms by a late profound philosopher and eloquent divine, too soon, alas! snatched away from the church which he honoured by his virtues, and defended by writings which bring to our recollection the finest pages of Bossuet.

"First, she loudly teaches the real doctrines concerning the dignity of man: she defines the obligations of masters and slaves; she declares them equal before God, and thus completely destroys the de-

grading theories which stain the writings of the greatest philosophers of antiquity. She then comes to the application of her doctrines: she labours to improve the treatment of the slaves; she struggles against the atrocious right of life and death; she opens her temples to them as asylums, and when they depart thence, prevents their being ill treated; she labours to substitute public tribunals for private vengeance. At the same time that the church guarantees the liberty of the enfranchised by connecting it with religious motives, she defends that of the born free. She labours to close the sources of slavery, by displaying the most active zeal for the redemption of captives, by opposing the avarice of the Jews, by procuring for men who were sold easy means of recovering their liberty. The church gives an example of mildness and disinterestedness; she facilitates emancipation by admitting slaves into monasteries and the ecclesiastical state; she facilitates it by all the other means that charity suggests; and thus it is that, in spite of the deep roots of slavery in ancient society,—in spite of the *bouleversement* caused by the irruptions of the barbarians,—in spite of so many wars and calamities of every kind, which, in great measure, paralyzed the effect of all regulating and beneficent action—yet we see slavery, that dishonour and leprosy of ancient civilization rapidly diminish among Christians, until it finally disappears.”

—*Protestantism and Catholicism compared.* By J. Balmez, p. 80, (Burns' Edition.)

Before the church had succeeded in utterly extinguishing that slavery which the ancient world bequeathed to the modern, she displayed meanwhile unbounded charity in ameliorating the captive's lot and soothing his sorrows. Benevolence towards the slaves, and especially that benevolence which went to redeem them from bondage, was urgently pressed on the

attention of the faithful by many of the Fathers, and especially by St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and Pope St. Gregory the Great. The property of the church was freely spent in this good work, and when her treasures were exhausted she authorized the bishops, in certain emergencies, to melt down the sacred vessels in the great cause of charity.

But it was not enough for the ever active zeal of the Catholic church to first relieve and afterwards emancipate slaves in those countries where the cross was revered: it led her into those regions of Africa, where Islamism prevailed, in quest of those unfortunate men, whom war, or piracy, or other misfortunes, had loaded with chains. In the early part of the thirteenth century, St. Peter Nolasco, and other holy men, founded a religious order for the express purpose of redeeming captives. The members of this truly charitable institution exerted themselves in collecting money which they carried or sent into Africa for the purchase of thousands of Christian slaves groaning under the yoke of the Moslem. Their efforts were approved of and blessed by Pope Gregory IX., in 1225. Never, in the annals of the world, do we read of charity more ardent, more zealous, or more disinterested than was that of the spiritual children of Nolasco. They preached to and instructed the unhappy slaves, they redeemed them, when they could, at any price, and, sometimes, they have been known to give themselves in exchange for a weak and dying slave, putting his chains on their own limbs and setting him free: so that many an unhappy captive doomed, to all appearance, to end his days in bondage, was, through their instrumentality, restored to freedom, to his friends, to his creed, and to his country.

Again, when, in more recent times, modern cupidity had revived the traffic in slaves in the West

Indies, and other colonies held by Europeans, the Roman pontiffs of the time, like their illustrious predecessors, and in the true spirit of Catholicism, strongly condemned the renewal of so base a source of gain. Pius II., Paul III., Urban VIII., Benedict XIV., and Pius VII., have each nobly distinguished their pontificate by strongly denouncing this worst of all iniquities; and well would it have been for the world—for European nations, as well as for the swarthy sons of Africa—had the papal words been as influential as they were charitable, and worthy of the head on earth of the Catholic Church. Although not completely successful in suppressing slavery in modern times, the efforts of Catholicism have done much to ameliorate the condition of the slave. He is not, wherever the church is dominant, or even where she is free, looked upon with heathen eyes as something between man and the brute: he is not, as in some Protestant settlements, forbidden to read even the Bible, or prohibited from hearing the Word of God; he is, on the contrary, treated as an accountable being, and means are afforded him of knowing God's laws and opportunities of keeping them. While we say this, we do not mean to deny that England has done much to put down the slave trade: she has made great sacrifices for this noble purpose, and it is not her fault if, for the most part, these sacrifices have been made in vain. The United States also pretended, on some occasions, to feel compunction for their iniquitous traffic in human flesh; they too, like England, would wish to appear humane, and they made a show of renouncing so vile a practice; but their cupidity proved too strong for their better and kindlier feelings. A fact which has elicited from Mr. Hamilton some rather severe but just observations:—"It cannot be denied," says that writer, "slavery has only ceased in those por-

tions of the Union in which it was practically found to be a burden on the industry and resources of the country. *Wherever it was found profitable, there it has remained*; there it is to be found at the present day in all its pristine and unmitigated ferocity. Where its abolition involved no sacrifice, slavery has disappeared; but wherever justice was to be done at the expense of the purse, the nuisance, so far from being abated, has gone on increasing, and has become rooted more widely and more deeply in the habits and prejudices of the people."—*Men and Manners in America*, p. 350.

When even the Americans determined to abolish slavery to the extent, and for the reasons they did abolish it, there was something inconceivably mean in their proceedings—something which makes a sad contrast with the disinterested zeal of the religious order founded by Nolasco. This has not escaped the keen eye of Mr. Hamilton:—"I have said that the abolition of slavery in the Northern, and some of the Central States, has involved no sacrifice. Let me explain this—When Pennsylvania, for instance, abolished slavery, she passed an act that, after a certain number of years, all the slaves within her territory should be manumitted. What was the consequence? Why, that the great body of the slaves belonging to Pennsylvania proprietors were, in the mean time, exported and sold in other states, and when the day of liberation came those who actually profited by it were something like the patients who visited the pool of Bethesda—the blind, the halt, the maimed, the decrepit, whom it really required no great exercise of generosity to turn about their business, with an injunction to provide thereafter for their own maintenance."—*Ib.* p. 350.

From this it is evident that the influence of the Bible, as exercised by the mighty empires held by

the Anglo-Saxon races in Europe and America, have failed to effect in the cause of humanity what Catholicism effected in ages long gone by—first, the amelioration of the slave; and then his complete emancipation. The English and the Americans attribute their greatness to their freedom from the yoke of Rome; they boast of superior intelligence, and of a purer faith. But, if the tree is to be known by its fruit, what are we to think of that faith which shows itself less powerful for good than what they who hold it deem a degrading superstition. This superstition, if we must so call it, gradually raised the slave to an equality with his master, while that alleged *purser* faith has literally done next to nothing to mitigate his condition, or elevate him to the dignity of a rational and responsible being. Mr. Hamilton speaks very decidedly on this subject:—“When the United States have enjoyed upwards of half a century of almost unbroken prosperity—when their people, as they themselves declare, are the most moral, the most benevolent, the most enlightened in the world,—we are surely entitled to demand what have this people done for the mitigation of slavery? What have they done to elevate the slave in the scale of moral and intellectual being, and to prepare him for the enjoyment of those privileges, to which, sooner or later, the *coloured* population *must* be admitted?”

“The answer to those questions, unfortunately, may be comprised in one word—NOTHING. Nothing, during all this period, has been done to raise the slave to the dignity of a rational and responsible being, or to mitigate the horrors of his servitude; nothing for the subversion of ignorant and degrading prejudice; nothing to remove from themselves and their posterity the reproach of a system which

withers up all the better sympathies of our nature. The voice of justice and humanity has been raised in vain ; and it may be safely predicted, that while the progress of intelligence is confessedly incompatible with slavery, its last stronghold will be found not in Portugal, not in Turkey or Tripoli, but in the United States."—Page 349. Nor let it be urged against us that there are slaves in the Catholic colonies of Spain, Portugal, and some other European countries, as well as in the United States. True, but the church never approved of slavery. She never encouraged slave holders as such ; and those among her children who traffic in human flesh are men who have, all along, felt that they were acting in direct opposition to her intentions, independently of her influence, and in defiance of her anathemas.

A church, whose mode of teaching has been so influential, and has brought about such mighty changes for good in the world, and who has done all this with the Sacred Scriptures in her hands, and on her lips, must be supposed to have them deeply impressed on her heart too. That she is an enemy to them is what no thinking man can suppose, and no truthful man assert.

But we must finish this portion of our task ; and we may conclude by observing that, in whatever point of view we consider the conduct of the church, with regard to the Holy Scriptures, we shall find it to be most laudable. She has ever watched, with singular care, over the purity of the text in the original languages, and she has striven during a long succession of ages to supply the faithful with accurate versions in the vernacular, as soon as the ever changing nature of modern languages permitted such versions to be made. In times when men of a certain turn of mind, and prepossessed with dan-

gerous, unsound, and unsocial ideas, mistranslated the Scriptures, and read them, and wished others to read them for a wicked purpose, she snatched from their hands the Sacred Book, to preserve it from profanation and to prevent them from sinking deeper and deeper into error and into crime. She has ever used the Scriptures for the purposes for which they were placed in her hands ; she consults them in her doubts ; she grounds her doctrines on their words truly interpreted ; she calls them to her assistance in instructing the people ; she seeks strength and consolation from the promises made to her in them by Him, by whose authority *she* was established, and by whose inspiration *they* were written. She does not profess to be above the Scriptures—they are the Word of God, but she claims and exercises the right of interpreting them as they were written for her use and entrusted to her care. She changes nought in them ; she adds nothing to them ; she curtails no portion of them. Why should she ? She teaches no doctrine of her own ; her dogmas were revealed to her—they are not her's, but His who sent her : and hence it is her duty, her highest privilege, her most ardent desire to hand down unimpaired, from generation to generation, the sacred deposit—the faith of Christ, committed to her keeping. This, she knows she can best accomplish, under God's favour, by preserving, in all its integrity, the Word of God, such as she received it from Christ and his apostles. Hence she, the true church of the true God, holds and uses the true Scriptures, and does not, like ancient or modern heretics, mistranslate and abuse them. *She* uses them, that is, she employs them as God intended she should employ them, as an auxiliary in the great work of instructing and enlightening mankind. *They* abuse them : they turn them to purposes for which

they are wholly unfit, for which God never meant them. They hold them forth as the only source of heavenly knowledge here below. "The Bible," say they, "is the Religion of Protestants,"—a religion which, as we shall soon see, is "self-consumed as it is self-fed."



PART SECOND.

CHAPTER I.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM LEADS TO THE
ABUSE OF THE BIBLE, ETC., ETC.

“Even the Holy Scriptures, which were now circulated every where, while they imparted light and nurture to the sincere inquirer after truth, were the source also whence an eccentric fanaticism contrived to extort the virulent poison.”—*Schiller. Revolt of the Netherlands.* Bohn's Stan. Lib., p. 382.

THE various tribes and peoples, whose descendants form what are now called the modern nations of Europe, had, under the influence of Catholicism, that is, the Bible interpreted and taught by the church, been making progress in civilization for a thousand years and more. Idolatry had been extinguished and slavery had been abolished from one end of the Christian commonwealth to the other. The barbarians who had invaded the empire and dispossessed the Romans of all their conquests, had long ceased to be barbarians, and had become as polished, as learned, and well nigh, if not altogether as well-skilled in the arts and sciences, as the most celebrated nations of antiquity had ever been. Literature, especially in the south of Europe, had revived, diffusing its lights and its amenities from Italy, the land of its new birth, over the numerous kingdoms and states in communion with the See of Rome. Into the manners and customs of the people there had been gradually infused a mildness, a benevolence, a degree of primitive simplicity and moral rectitude which, previous to the birth of Christianity

and its developement the world had never seen. War, formerly so great a scourge, and productive of woes ineffable, being now carried on according to recognized and comparatively humane laws, was despoiled of half its horrors. Religion, triumphant in the old world, over the idolatry of ancient times, as well as over the barbarism and ignorance of more modern days, was recovering from the wounds which it had received during the great schism and was preparing to send its apostolic men with the glad tidings of the gospel into the New World, then recently discovered, when, alas! to the regret of all good men, new troubles arose destined to inflict, ere long, greater evils on the church than any she had experienced since the days of the great Athanasius, and the long and disastrous reign of Arianism.

Martin Luther appeared—he was a monk of the Augustinian order, and had, at the time we refer to, spent with much profit and much apparent happiness, many years in the solitude of his cloister. There he cultivated great talents, acquired considerable knowledge, enjoyed a tolerably fair reputation, and, for a long time, kept strong and burning passions in wonderful subjection. Unfortunately a slight, put, as he imagined, on his order, and perhaps on himself, one of its most distinguished members, enkindled his anger, while his ambition, under the mask of zeal for the honour of the church, compromised, as he alleged, by those who enjoyed the papal favour, urged him to declaim, first, against abuses prevalent in the church, and then against those doctrines of the church from which he fancied those abuses arose. Of course his errors, like those of former innovators, were soon condemned by legitimate authority. But he appealed against the sentence: he would no longer listen to the church; he would read the Bible; he would be judged not by the former—she might err; but he

would judge himself by the latter,—it was the infallible Word of God. Unhappy man! he did not perceive the delusion by which he suffered himself to be led away, nor acknowledge the fact that, in all her decisions, the church is ever guided by the Word of God. In blind anger and unreflecting haste, therefore, he sallied out among his Germanic brethren to preach a new creed, the first article of which was, that the book which he held in his hand—his Bible, was the sole rule of faith, and should be the sole guide of men in all that pertains to religion. This was a sad event for Christendom—on that day began the abuse of the Bible, which we lay to the charge of Protestantism, and those countless evils which have been the result of that deplorable abuse—evils which we share with them, but for which they alone are accountable.

When we charge Protestants with abusing the Bible, we ground this charge on the principle on which they act towards the blessed Book, and the consequences which evidently result from that principle. We must take some pains to develope this idea.

In the Catholic church the Scriptures have been, with the grace of God and the protecting influence of the Holy Ghost, a powerful auxiliary in preserving Christ's revealed faith, and in teaching his people. In them, she had at all times ready at hand, a record, an abridgment—hand-notes, as it were, of those heavenly truths which her first pastors had heard explained at length by the very lips of the Son of God himself; it was her duty to preserve these truths and to develope them. In performing this task she sought assistance from the Scriptures. They contained the text—the letter of the law, she supplied the commentary. They were not religion itself, nor the sole guide to religion, or in religious

matters ; but in their sacred pages were the germ of truth, sage advices, important hints, rare examples of virtue, and much that was exceedingly useful in enabling her to do what she was sent to do, namely, to teach, during all future time, God's saving truths to God's lost children—"Go ye and teach all nations*."

But this would not do for Protestants. With them the Bible is the sole teacher—the only guide. It is the first principle of their creed, and almost the only one they hold in common, that, Bible in hand, every man (and every woman) endowed with the ordinary gifts of reason and judgment, can frame a religion to himself which may lead him safely, through all the perils and temptations of this life, to the kingdom of God and the bliss of heaven. Put, according to this theory, a copy of the Bible, translated into the vernacular, into the hands of any ordinary man, and be he what he may, let him have any creed or no creed, let him be Jew, Hindoo, Mahometan, or Pagan, he may learn from the Sacred Volume the whole of God's revealed will,—the whole of Christ's divine truth,—the entire scheme of Christianity : he may become an enlightened disciple of the Son of God and a living member of his church. The Bible, says Protestantism, carefully read and understood, as the common sense of every individual will enable him to understand it, will supply him with all necessary religious knowledge. It will be his religion ; for the children of the Reformation never cease to boast that the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants.

This was the doctrine which, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Luther propounded in the face of all Christendom. Burning with zeal to diffuse these ideas, he sallied forth from his convent and

* Math. xxviii., 19.

cried aloud to princes and people that hitherto they had been kept in darkness ; that up to that hour they had been foolishly content to receive their religion from the hand of others, from Rome, from the pope, from men who had no mission to instruct, and who, being in darkness themselves, could not lead others in the path of light. He denounced the old and established system of listening to the pastors of the church : he rejected the authority of the Roman Pontiff ; he threw off all respect for the Holy Fathers ; he treated with scorn the decrees of general councils, and he boldly asserted that the Bible was the Christian's only guide to truth here, and to heaven hereafter. He declared that, like others, he himself had long been a slave to superstition—a blind follower of blind leaders, but that, by a merciful dispensation of Providence, he had found, on a dusty shelf of his convent library, a book, *the Book of books*—the BIBLE, which had taught him, as it might teach others, to throw off the yoke of Rome, and serve God in purity and simplicity, in freedom and in truth. To enable all who might desire to become his disciples to read more easily that book, which he recommended them so strongly to read, and from the reading of which he promised them so many advantages, he translated it (or, to speak more accurately, he altered, to suit his own views, an old translation) into the vernacular of his country. The first part of his labours on the German Bible was sent to the press, in 1522, and the last, a few years later. The whole was in the hands of the public in the year 1530.

Nor did the apostle of the Reformation speak or labour in vain. The doctrines which he taught were too much in accordance with the corrupt nature of man not to find ready, willing, and numerous disciples. The defection from Rome was alarmingly rapid in point of time, and formidable in point of

numbers. Soon the greatest part of Germany, especially of Northern Germany, Switzerland, the Low Countries, the British Isles, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, entirely separated themselves from the See of Rome—the centre of unity. The Reformation had, besides, many followers in countries which ultimately remained Catholic, such as France, Hungary, Bohemia, and even Italy itself.

Now, those portions of the Christian community which abjured the old system of Catholic teaching, adopted the Bible as their sole guide in matters of Religion. Whatever tenets they held and taught after their secession from Rome, they held and taught them, because they fancied they found them in the Bible. From the Bible they drew their articles of belief and their rules of morality, and from their frequent perusal of it, they thought they derived that superior enlightenment to which they soon laid claim, and of which they still boast. We Catholics maintain, on the other hand, that the use to which Protestants put the Bible is a real abuse of the Sacred Volume: is a use for which He, who, in mercy gave it to man, never intended it, and from which no good can result. We fearlessly maintain this; and, in support of this theory, we point to the disastrous consequences which have never ceased to flow from the doctrine and practice of Protestants with regard to the Bible. We maintain that, from their abuse of God's Word, there resulted—1st, Religious dissension; 2nd, Civil strife; 3rd, Irreparable damage to morality, to literature, to the arts and sciences; and, 4thly, The downfall of the Bible itself.

All these evils and many others we lay to the charge of Protestantism; they result, we think, from its unreasonable and ill-grounded appeal to the Word of God privately interpreted as the sole judge in religious controversy.

CHAPTER II.

THE ABUSE OF THE BIBLE BEGETS RELIGIOUS DISSENSION.

1. *Religious dissension.*—It will not be denied, we hope, that Christ wished and intended that peace and union should reign for ever in his church here below, that is, that all his followers should believe the same truths, and regulate their lives by the same laws of morality. The church is the kingdom of Christ: like a wise sovereign, he would naturally remove far from it all that could tend to sow dissension among his subjects and split them into hostile factions, knowing, as he does, that every kingdom divided against itself must be made desolate. He also loved his church, he redeemed it with his precious blood; and, when he was about to leave this world, he most earnestly besought his Heavenly Father to preserve *all* its members in holy union. “Not only for them (my apostles) do I pray, but for them also (all future Christians) who through their word may believe in me, that they may be one, as thou Father, in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us.”—St. John xvii., 20, 21. It was the earnest desire of the Son of God that his church should be exempt from those divisions which are inseparable from, and which disfigure all human institutions. The wise man alluding, in the spirit of prophecy, to the Spouse of Christ, which is his church, points to her unity as her greatest beauty:

“One is my dove, my perfect one is *but* one.”—Cant. vi., 8. And the Son of God himself declares, that the union and love reigning among his disciples will be their distinguishing characteristic, and may serve as a clear proof to all men that *He*, whose followers they are, must have come from above. “That they may be one as We also are one: I in thee, and thou in me; that they may be made perfect in one: and the world may know that thou hast sent me.”—St. John xvii., 22, 23. “The origin of unity in the church of Christ,” says Bossuet, “is Christ himself: he appeared on one spot only of the earth, while he sent the teachers of his doctrines over the whole world; by this diffusion of Christ’s ministers, unity was not broken, but only extended; and, by the uninterrupted succession of these teachers, this holy and indivisible unity has been safely handed down to us through all past ages.”—*Boss.*, Vol. VI., p. 260. Paris, 1828.

Now, this union descending unbroken through so many ages, extending to so many countries, embracing so many different nations, could not be preserved by the silent pages of the Bible alone, but only by the living and authoritative voice of the church interpreting the Bible. Hence the eloquent prelate, whom we have just quoted, adds,—“Look at those who have left the church; the very names they assume denote separation: they are called Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists; all these are new appellations, derived not from unity, for unity is ancient, it is much anterior to these names, and its antiquity is their condemnation.” Accordingly we find that, when Luther rejected the authoritative teaching of the ancient church, he bade farewell to unity, and established a society—a church if you prefer that name, in whose bosom, from the very beginning, were collected innumerable elements of

disunion : he sowed the whirlwind and he could not fail to reap the storm*.

The spirit of the Reformation is essentially a spirit of discord. The very first principle announced by the first apostle, and the most eloquent exponent of the new creed, leads to disunion. He laid it down as a received truth that each man is to take the Bible, and from its pages, as understood by his single self without any reference to the traditions and interpretations of former and primitive days, to the learning of contemporaries, or to any light derived from aught but his own very fallible reason, he may educe from it a system of faith and morals identical, or, at least, consistent and accordant with that revealed to the world by the Son of God. "We believe, we hold, and we teach," says Luther, "that the only rule and criterion whereby we are to judge all doctrines and all doctors is none other than the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testament." "Credimus, confitemur, et docemur, unicam regulam et normam, ex qua omnia dogmata, omnesque doctores judicare oporteat,

* The lamentable divisions which tore Protestantism to pieces at a very early period of its existence, is frankly admitted by Protestants to be anything rather than edifying. Alluding to this subject, Schiller observes in his "Thirty Years' War," p. 15., Bohn's edit., "Nothing could have furnished the common enemy a more plausible defence of his cause than this dissension : no spectacle could have been more gratifying to him than the rancour with which the Protestants alternately persecuted each other. Who would condemn the Roman Catholics if they laughed at the audacity with which the Reformers had presumed to announce the only true belief? If, in the midst of this clashing of opinions, they held fast to the authority of their own church, for which, in part, there spoke an honourable antiquity, and a yet more honourable plurality of voices : " that is, in other words,—Who could blame Catholics for adhering to a system which *preserved* unity, and for rejecting one productive of eternal discord.

nullam omnino aliam esse, quam prophetica et apostolica, tum veteris, tum novi testamenti Scripta.”—*Solid Declar. forma dijud. Cont.* & 2, p. 603.

This doctrine, first propounded by Luther, was, in due time, received by all Protestant sects, and, with some modification, it forms, to this day, as we have already observed, the only common basis on which they all stand. But, what cannot escape our notice, is, that as to it they owe their existence, it also contributes more than any thing else to what is daily taking place, here more rapidly, there more slowly, according to circumstances, but every where certainly enough—their utter dissolution.

The dissensions resulting from the fundamental principle of the Reformation began almost as soon as the Reformation itself: the first rebels against Luther were the very men who had been his earliest disciples. Carlostadius, once his master, when the Reformer was yet a youth, was not ashamed, in his old age, to place himself under the tuition of his former pupil, and learn from him the new doctrines. So much humility, and so great a thirst of knowledge met with their due reward. The already aged Carlostadius was no longer confined to his duties of Professor of Theology, and Archdeacon of Wittenburg: he was now allowed (in consideration of his old age) to wander about through Germany, accompanied by his young wife, disseminating the doctrines of his master, and inculcating practically, and by his own example, what Luther had, hitherto, only ventured to preach in words. How comfortable a thing it was for a minister of God to break his pledged faith to heaven!*

* Luther was delighted to see Carlostadius marry. The example of this feeble old man, would, he was well aware, prepare the public for the marriage of younger men—his own

on the part of Luther to seduce his former master from his allegiance to the pope than to keep him in due subordination to himself. While the Reformer lay concealed in the castle of Wartbourg, he learned with much concern, that his aged disciple had been improving on his doctrines, and that his inconsiderate and intemperate zeal was hurrying on the Reformation further and faster than was expedient. On receiving this intelligence, he hastened to remonstrate with Carlostadius, and endeavoured to confute his ultra doctrines. It was all in vain. They met at Jena, in a tavern called the Black Bear; but their meeting, and their conferring together, only widened the breach, so that, after much mutual recrimination, they parted on the worst possible terms,—Luther praying that Carlostadius might yet be broken on the wheel, and the latter expressing an earnest hope that the former might break his neck ere he should leave the place immortalized by their rencounter.

Meanwhile, however, notwithstanding the scandalous misunderstandings already so prevalent among the Reformers, the Reformation itself made rapid progress. From Wittemburg, where it first commenced, it spread with astonishing rapidity into the Palatinate, into Saxony, and even reached, in the course of a short time, the banks of the Necker. Its more zealous apostles attempted to carry its doctrines into the Low Countries, and were prevented from establishing it at Antwerp and Brussels only by the vigilance and authority of the civil power, wielded at the time by the strong hand of Charles V.

among others, which, indeed, was fast approaching. Hence the arch-Reformer writes to his bosom friend Amsdorf:—*Confortet eum Deus in bonum exemplum inhibendæ et minuendæ papisticæ libidinis.* Amen.

Denmark, a prey to misrule, received, at an early period, the Lutheran doctrines. Pomerania and Prussia admitted the new missionaries, and listened to them with delight. Alsace, too, would have renounced the authority of Rome had it not been timeously disgusted by the intemperate preaching of the Anabaptists. Switzerland, under the auspices of Zuinglius, had set up a Reformation on its own account, while the three ancient cantons of Uri, Schwytz, and Unter-Walden, the first champions of Helvetic liberty, and the founders of the Republic, remained faithful to the See of Rome.—*Audin, Luther's Life*, Vol. I., p. 290. Louvain, 1845.

Rapid, however, as the propagation of the new gospel was, this remarkable rapidity was far surpassed by the multiplicity of doctrines taught and the dissensions which such multifarious doctrines could not fail to generate. Luther had scarcely been engaged one half dozen of years in the godly task of reforming the ancient church, when already his more enlightened disciples commenced, in good earnest, to reform his own newly reformed doctrines, teaching the most extraordinary and irreconcilable dogmas. Munzer and the Anabaptists held that, without a second baptism, man could not be saved; Osiander taught that God had predestined the elect only; the Majorists deemed good works unnecessary for salvation; the Flacians condemned the opinions of the Majorists as savouring of Popery. In addition to these various sects there were Synergists, who unduly extolled the liberty of man: the Ubiquitarians, who maintained that the humanity of the Son of God was every where present with his divinity; the Substantiarrians, who considered original sin to be the essence, the nature and substance of man.—*Audin, ut Sup.*

What a mass of confusion! what a field for reli-

gious strife! And all these opinions were the opinions of the Reformers and derived from the Bible. They were conceived in the minds of men; they were maturely pondered on by men who would appeal to no authority but that of the Bible, and who would read and interpret the Bible each for himself! On the Bible, as understood by themselves, they based their creeds, their confessions of faith, and their rules of morality,—creeds, confessions of faith, and rules of morality, which though derived, as we are told, from the same source, not only do not resemble each other, are not identical as they ought naturally to be, but are, on the contrary, as unlike one another, and as contradictory to one another, as can well be imagined. The framers of these creeds, all children of the same father, (the Saxon monk), condemned and cursed one another: they treated each other as heretics; they shut, as far as lay in their power, the gates of heaven against each other. Question them separately—they all profess to believe the same gospel, yet they have not the same faith: they hold the Christian revelation, yet each denies the title of Christian to his neighbour, denouncing against him the fate of the unbeliever—damnation. Luther damned Ecolampadius, who damned Munzer, who damned Zuinglius.—(*Audin, ut Sup.*) Such were the first fruits of the Reformation—a total separation of the Reformers from the Catholic church, and then the direst and most distressing dissensions among themselves,—dissensions such as cannot exist among the disciples of the Son of God, who must ever be one in belief as He in essence and in nature is one with his Divine Father.

These lamentable divisions in the Reforming camp were to Luther a source of the most poignant grief: nor could he look for consolation on the right hand

or on the left; he was every where surrounded by contentious men who argued with him on the same principles on which he argued with the doctors of the Catholic church: that is, they quoted Scripture to defend their own tenets and condemn his. When, for instance, he called them his disciples and would exercise over them the rights and influence of a master, they warned him in the words of St. Matthew—"Call yourselves not *masters*: there is only one master who is in heaven." When he urged Carlostadius to spare the statues and paintings which adorned the churches, Carlostadius replied,—
"Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven thing."
"Children should be baptized," said he to Dydimius, but Dydimius, answered: "'Whosoever believes and is baptized shall be saved:' now children cannot believe, therefore they need not be baptized."
"Such," said he to Stork, "is the doctrine of the church, 'hear and obey.'" To which Carlostadius and Didymius, and Stork, unanimously replied,—
"Away with your popish deference for the church: we acknowledge no authority, save that of the Bible; we are guided by no light save that of the Holy Ghost, which illumines our mind; we walk in the ways of God." "Of God," exclaims Luther, "whose face you shall never see: my curse is upon you." But the prophets, for such were these men sometimes called, laughed at his impotent rage, as he himself had scoffed at the anger of Tetzels and Cajetan: and meanwhile errors multiplied and spread abroad with the rapidity of a pestilential wind.—*Audin.*

Things went on thus for some years, and still there was no peace among the Reformers, no union, no uniform system of faith and morality, and the latter days of Luther's troubled life were embittered by his contests with the Sacramentarians. To that

body, in general, he declared himself peculiarly hostile, expressing, on many occasions, his determination to wage war against them while he had blood in his veins, and ink wherewithal to write. In his commentaries on Genesis he goes so far as coolly to consign their leaders, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, and others, to eternal flames. In 1543 he pronounced it impossible that the Saxon church, his own pet child, could live in peace and in communion with that of Zurich, founded by a rival apostle, although that worthy had died for the cause, and was honoured as a martyr by his adherents. Nor, had the Protestants of Zurich a better opinion of Luther himself: they accused him of misinterpreting the Scriptures; they reckoned up thirty-four passages falsified by him in the single gospel of St. Matthew, while, in the entire New Testament, they made his corruptions amount to the startling number of fourteen hundred. To counteract his errors they published a Bible of their own in 1543. This was too much for the patriarch of the Reformation. To doubt his honesty in translating and expounding the Scriptures; to show him to have been in wilful error during the whole period of his Reforming career was to smite him where the wound could not be cured. He was now old and infirm: his pen, like the sword of Priam, could ill second his important rage, so that a few days before his death he was heard thus to express his lacerated and indignant feelings: "Happy the man who has not walked in the counsel of the Sacramentarians, who has not been found in the ways of the Zuinglians, and who has not seated himself in the chair of the Zurichers." —*Audin's Life of Calvin*, p. 404. Baltimore edit.

Nor where the disgraceful divisions characteristic of the first years of the Reformation buried in Luther's grave. Under the auspices of Calvin, an

abler man in some respects, and far more worldly wise than the impetuous monk of Wittemburg, the breach between the contending parties become more wide than ever.

For a time, and while Luther was yet the formidable antagonist, he had long shown himself, Calvin scarcely dared to dissent openly from his opinions: he spoke of him and wrote to him in the most flattering terms; he styled him a most illustrious man, a minister of Christ: but, when years had whitened the head, and weakened the hand of the arch-Reformer, Calvin adopted another tone. Their doctrines on the Eucharist were very different: the real presence, as taught by Luther, was highly displeasing to the apostle of Geneva, and as early as the year 1538, the latter spoke of the former as “a man of vanity and falsehood, labouring under gross hallucination, an absurd doctor. An insolent opponent of the truth.”—*Audin's Calvin*, p. 404.

The war thus begun with the master, was, after his demise, waged with his disciples. Westphalius, a Lutheran divine and pastor at Hamburg, maintained his cause against Calvin with heroic courage, and wielded, with consummate skill, the weapons most familiar to the Reformers, gross personalities expressed in the most insulting terms. Addressing Calvin, the Hamburg pastor says,—“I could exhibit certain pages in which thou hast included more than thirty falsehoods, and as many atrocious insults—each word is impregnated with venom: moreover, as all the world knows, these are but the customary ornaments of thy style.”—*Possem ostendere aliquas pagellas quæ singulæ continent plura quam viginti mendacia et convicia. Alicubi verba pene singula suffusa sunt veneno.*—*Audin*, p. 418, 419. *Apologia a J. Westphalo.* In reply he is styled, by the meek apostle of Geneva, a “dog, a madman, a brute.”

Bad enough, in all truth ; but this did not yet exhaust the vocabulary of the Reformers. Beza, defending Calvin's doctrine against Eilmann, a Lutheran, adopts, without scruple, the terms consecrated by the lips of his master, and calls Eilmann "an ape, an ass with a doctor's cap on his head, a dog swimming in a bath, an assinine sophist, an impudent rogue, a sycophant, a polyphemus, a monster, half monkey half ogre, a carnivorous animal, a cyclops, A PAPIST."—*Audin.*

Assuredly, when holy men and professed Reformers of Christ's church have recourse to such abusive language, we may safely say there must be some dire cause of dissension between them. Nothing, in our opinion, betrays so much the distracted state of the Reformation—the total want of union so conspicuous amongst its apostles—as the scandalous terms in which they assailed each other. But, already in Calvin's time, so far had animosity carried the contending parties, that words could no longer do justice to their feelings ; so that, after exhausting, in mutual vituperation, the whole stock of abusive epithets, which ancient and modern languages could supply, they hastened to spill each other's blood.

Of Protestants who persecuted Protestants, even unto death, John Calvin was the first. It is true Luther denounced vengeance against his opponents ; he spoke, in coarse and unwarrantable language, of, and to, all who would not side with him ; he drove Carlostadius into exile, and sent him, poor, old, and infirm, to beg his bread from door to door ; he even went so far as to consign Zuinglius and the Sacramentarians to the flames of hell ; but, while he spoke this, he knew that he would not have the power in the other world to execute such threats, and, to his honour be it said, he never sought to execute them in

this world, where he might, had he been so inclined, have burned his enemies, even as Calvin burned Servetus. But the Apostle of Geneva had the will, and he found the means, of punishing his opponents, even to the shedding of blood. Castalion, the most elegant scholar in the Reformed ranks, he slandered, persecuted, and impoverished, so that the old man, one of the most learned of the age, died of sheer hunger; he threw Bolsec into prison, and afterwards drove him into exile; he literally killed Gruet, as M. Galiffe, a modern Protestant of Geneva, emphatically declares; and all the world knows that he burnt alive Servetus, and that before the execution, and during that awful moment, he treated that unfortunate man with the most barbarous cruelty.

Yet all these barbarities could not check that spirit of division and of disunion, so characteristic of the Reformation from the very first hour of its existence; a spirit which grew with it and spread with it, and which, even to this day, is not extinct. It is a fact, to which all modern history bears testimony, that interminable quarrels sprang up along with, and in consequence of, the doctrines of the Reformation, in every country into which they were introduced. In Holland, in Germany, in England, in Scotland, Protestant raised voice and hand against Protestant, and shed each other's blood, after pouring out on each other's souls and bodies curses and maledictions, of which, most assuredly, they found no model in the gospel.

These divisions, and their sad consequences, have ever been a source of regret to the more moderate among our dissenting brethren. Luther was painfully sensible of the scandal they gave, a scandal over which Melancthon wept bitterly, and which brought the blush to the pale face of Calvin himself. Writing to Melancthon, he says, "It is

highly important that future ages be not made aware of the religious discord prevalent amongst us; for it is most absurd, that, having broken with the whole Catholic world, we cannot so much as agree amongst ourselves, even at the very beginning of our Reformation." (Calv. Letters to Beza., p. 145, quoted in the "History of the Variations," vol. I., p. 136.) Duditus, too, another Reformer, saw these divisions we allude to, and deplored them in language approved of and recorded by Beza. (See Bez., Lett. 1st.) And Catholics triumphantly pointed to them, as a proof that the Bible, when interpreted by each individual, irrespectively of Church authority, is certainly a dangerous book, from which pride, covetousness, and lust, and, indeed, all the passions, may extract the doctrines most pleasing to themselves, making it, of course, in the hands of most men, a very uncertain and unsafe guide in religious matters. The Catholics argued that there was but one Bible, and one religion in that Bible; that they who dispute about this religion, who cannot agree regarding it, abundantly show that they do not understand the Bible; and that they have failed to draw from its sacred pages the true principles of religion, which it does really contain. Yet no share in these lamentable divisions is to be attributed to the Holy Book, or to Him who inspired it. It serves the purpose for which God gave it: it guides and directs those to whom He entrusted it, and whom he enables, by his grace, to see and unfold its truths. That is, in one word, that the Bible, *used*, as by the Catholic church, is a most valuable gift; but that, when *abused* by Protestant private interpretation, it is a fatal present, productive of more evils than the twelve plagues of Egypt.*

* Dr. M'Crie, in his "History of the Reformation in Italy," gives a lamentable account of the disunion prevalent among

This is no new doctrine. The truth we here insist on was felt and dilated on centuries ago. It was a Protestant who exclaimed, on seeing the sad abuse of the Word of God among his co-religionists: "Oh! those fatal words—'Search the Scriptures.'"

the Italian Protestants, and which ultimately ruined the cause of heresy on the south side of the Alps. Much was expected towards a reconciliation between the contending parties from the friendly interference of Luther and Melancthon, but the rudeness and violence of the former, and the mild language of the latter, served only, it would seem, to enkindle still more the rage of the angry disputants. Luther's impetuosity hurried on the coming catastrophe, an event for which he is severely rated by the Scottish covenanters. "They felt," says M'Crie, "the highest veneration for the character of Luther, were disposed to pay a deference, almost implicit, to his advice, and a single word from him would either allay or inflame the dissension which had arisen. Unhappily he adopted that method which natively (*naturally?*) produced the last of these effects. In his answer to the letter from the Venetian Protestants, he not only dissipated the pleasing delusion which they were under, as to a reconciliation having been effected, but inveighed, in the most bitter terms, against the Sacramentarians and fanatics, as he abusively denominated the Swiss divines, and asserted that 'the Popish tenet of transubstantiation was more tolerable than that of Zuingle.' Nor was he a whit more moderate in another letter, written by him in the following year, in which he stimulated the Italians to write against the opinions of Zuingle and Ecolampade, whom he did not scruple to stigmatize as 'poisonous teachers,' and 'false prophets,' who 'did not dispute under the influence of error, but opposed the truth knowingly, at the instigation of Satan.' In addition to this, he caused some of his controversial writings against the Zuinglians to be translated and sent into Italy." (*Hist. of Ref. in Italy*, p. 146.)

M'Crie penned these lines with evident reluctance. "Willingly," says he, "would I have passed over this portion of history, and spared the memory of a man who has deserved so much of the world, and whose character, notwithstanding all the infirmities and faults which attach to it, will never cease to be contemplated with admiration and gratitude. But the truth must be told,"—and, alas! the *truth* is, even according

By them has the world been undone." By and bye we shall be better able to appreciate the truth of this startling exclamation.

to M'Crie, that—"never did the character of the Reformer sink so much into that of the petty leader of a party as it did on the present occasion." Would, for the sake of impartial history, and the fame of the historian, that Dr. M'Crie had always entertained that regard for *the truth* which he so emphatically expresses on this occasion!

CHAPTER III.

THE ABUSE OF THE BIBLE GENERATES CIVIL STRIFE.

The Reformation, at the period of its introduction into any country, either found that country in a state of civil commotion, or threw it into that state. God loves peace: his Divine Son is called the "Prince of Peace;" and, when he came to reconcile sinful man to an offended God, to show the peaceful object of his mission, he was pleased to appear among men at a time when the world enjoyed the sweets of universal peace. His religion, like himself, made its way quietly and peacefully among men; his early disciples were remarkable for nothing so much as for their mild, gentle, loving, and peaceful habits. They bore, with a patience which astonished and conquered the pagan world, a persecution which lasted three centuries, and during all that trying time, they never, even in their own defence, disturbed the tranquillity of the state. But lo! there arose, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a man who declared that this religion stood in need of reform—he imagined it had departed from its primitive purity; and he, in union with a chosen band of followers, undertook to correct its alleged abuses. But, in good sooth, Luther and his friends did not, in reforming the church, adopt the method pursued by Christ and his apostles in founding it. If the former, as is pretended, restored

and taught the identical doctrines revealed and preached by the latter, it is marvellous to think what different effects these same doctrines (supposing them to be the same) produced in these latter ages from those which they produced in that of our Saviour. The disciples of Christ professed themselves to be men of peace: the disciples of Luther coveted no such title. The apostles of Christ taught their followers to submit to lawful authority—to the pagan emperors,—to the persecutors of God's church: Luther urged his followers to rise in arms and to make war on all princes and potentates who rejected the new doctrines and adhered to the ancient faith. He himself rose up against his lawful Sovereign, and preached aloud the most seditious tenets, appealing all the while to his Bible and justifying his conduct by many, to him, evident and clear texts,—proof sufficient, to all thinking men, that the Word of God was subjected, by the patrons of private interpretation, to the most awful abuses.

We have said that Luther preached sedition: what we are about to state will enable the reader to judge whether or not we have belied the Father of the Reformation. While his cause was yet comparatively weak and might have been easily crushed by the secular arm, he was not ashamed to flatter the Emperor Charles V., and to talk of him among Catholics, as a “man of God,” “a heavenly messenger,” “a modern Augustus,” “the delight of the whole world.” But the prince was clear-sighted enough to see through this hollow hypocrisy. He was not, indeed, able, nor, perhaps, very anxious wholly to exterminate the Reformers, but he countenanced them as little as he could, and he resolutely refused to grant them certain privileges for which they had solemnly petitioned. This was too much for the loyalty of Luther; he, therefore, began to

change his language with regard to the emperor. This was when Charles appeared at Augsburg. The prince was then exceedingly popular, was much respected, had great influence, and it would not have been safe for the new apostle to launch forth in invectives against his person or preach treason against his government. Luther was well aware of this: hence we find him displaying more than his usual caution. He drew a wide distinction between the emperor as his sovereign, and the emperor as a bad Christian. The sovereign, he declared, his readiness to obey; but he would by no means live under the rule of a wicked and idolatrous prince—a persecutor of the faith. But treason, taught with even this slight mitigation, did not long satisfy his zeal: as his followers became more numerous and acquired more strength, he urged them to rebellion in the strongest, plainest, and most energetic terms.

In 1530 the Protestant league of Smalkald was formed, under the Reformer's auspices, for the avowed purposes of resisting lawful authority, of kindling a civil war, and causing one-half of the great German nation to slay the other. "Luther," says Menzel, "who had formerly maintained that obedience to the emperor, as supreme ruler, was a divine command, openly declared war against the emperor to be agreeable to the will of God." (Vol. II., p. 252, Bohn's ed.) When exhorting, on that occasion, his followers to have recourse to arms, he takes blame to himself for his former moderation, and censures most severely all who had taken part in the proceedings at Augsburg. "Woe to you all," exclaimed the fanatic, "woe to you all who supported the papacy at Augsburg; shame on you. Protestants will blush for you, and will hardly believe they have had such unworthy ancestors." And he added much more in the same strain.

Nor was this all. He soon committed to paper what he had thundered from the pulpit into the ears of the people. He published a furious pamphlet to justify revolt against princes, enemies to the truth, and civil war carried on for religion; meaning, of course, what he considered truth, and the new religion which he was so anxious to establish. This production was entitled "*An Admonition to my Dear Germans.*" This was a lamentable performance. Were anything half so violent to appear in England at the present day, its author would soon be consigned to Bedlam, or conveyed beyond the seas. Certain, at least, it is, that the seed which Luther scattered with so prodigal a hand, bore its bitter fruit in due time.

In 1524 broke out what is known in German history as the "War of the Peasants." Like all civil wars, it was cruel and bloody, and ended, as was to be expected, by the utter destruction of the poor misguided peasantry, who fought bravely enough, and, according to their ideas, righteously enough, but who, having no experienced leaders, were no match for the disciplined troops brought into the field against them. They were massacred, almost to a man. What we wish to remark is, that this frightful tragedy was the natural fruit of Luther's doctrines. He had urged the nobility to rebel against the princes, and thus, indirectly at least, he taught the peasants to rebel against the nobility. The Protestant historian, Wolfgang Menzel, admits that the religious liberty preached by Luther was understood by the peasants, as "also implying the political freedom for which they sighed." He at first encouraged them to sue for this political freedom; he frequently descanted on their wrongs, and made these a subject of reproach to the princes and nobility. Other preachers of his school, less

reserved or more daring than himself, incited them to active and open rebellion; so that, in the course of a short time, a great portion of Germany was in arms. This was more than, perhaps, the Reformer wished or intended; and, horrified at the dreadful excesses committed by the misguided peasants, he wrote and spoke against them in no measured terms. "To arms!" exclaimed he, addressing the princes, "to arms! this is a wonderful time, a truly wonderful time, indeed! since now princes can gain heaven as easily by murdering the peasants and shedding their blood, as we (preachers) can do by lifting up our hands and voice in prayer." "Strike, then," continues the new apostle, "strike these wretches before or behind. There is nothing more diabolical than a seditious man; he is a mad dog, who will bite you if you do not kill him." He then generously promises the honours of martyrdom and the joys of heaven to all who should die in the glorious cause, while he most unceremoniously sends to the place of torments the unfortunate peasants, on whose wrongs he was wont, only a short time before, to expatiate so eloquently.

With regard, therefore, to these unhappy men, Luther had two crimes to account for. First, he led them into the jaws of death; and, secondly, he left them to perish there. That his doctrines led them to the extremities we have alluded to, was, at the very time, urged by Erasmus and the Catholics, and is not denied even now by enlightened Protestants. "In vain," said Erasmus to him, "do you deny, in your atrocious pamphlet against the peasants, that you urged them to rebel; your books are still extant (books written in the vulgar tongue, that they might be understood by all), in which you preach a crusade against bishops and monks, against the tyranny of men; and in these impious pages we

find the germ of all those evils which now afflict our country." (Audin, vol. II., p. 116.) The same truth is told by a witness less liable to objection among Protestants than Erasmus; it is told most emphatically by Osiander. "Poor peasants," says this worthy, himself a great Reformer, "they were flattered and cheered on by Luther while they made war on the bishops and clergy only; but now, when they will listen no more to him; now, when they will submit no longer to the tyranny of their petty sovereigns, they are denounced by him as wild men, to be hunted down and utterly destroyed." Indeed, so extremely different were the doctrines of Luther, when he attacked the church by means of the peasants, from his practice when he himself, and the princes whom he favoured, were in turn attacked by these very same peasants, that he could not escape animadversion on this head; hence we find Gaspar Von Schwenkfeldt launching the following sarcasm against him: "Luther has led the people out of Egypt (the Catholic church), through the Red Sea (the peasant war), but he has deserted them in the wilderness." A sarcasm founded on fact, and so severely felt by him by whose base conduct it was elicited, that he never, says Menzel, either forgot or forgave it.—(*Menzel*, Vol. II., p. 239.)

As far, then, as Luther is concerned, it cannot be denied that his doctrines led to civil strife. Would this have been the case if they had been really founded on the Bible; or, in other words, if he and his followers had not abused the Bible by making it subservient to their own evil purposes, and pretending to draw from it doctrines which it did not contain? When did the Word of God teach rebellion? When did it stir up one great branch of the human family against another? Had Luther been

even teaching the truth, the method he took to plant his doctrines had nothing Evangelical to recommend it. The apostles and their successors never persecuted the heathen priests, nor plundered them, as he plundered the goods of the church, and persecuted the bishops who had imposed hands upon him, and pillaged those monasteries where he had so long found a happy home. Again, on the suppression of the peasant revolt, by the almost total annihilation of the deluded people who had taken up arms, he displayed his joy in a manner of which we find no parallel in the Scriptures. Osiander tells us that he celebrated the obsequies of the numerous slain by publicly wedding his beloved Catherine. *Lutherus non aliter funera eorum canit quam ipse monachus Virginem Deo votam Boram sibi copulando.* —(Cent. 104, p. 100.) Is this what the gospel calls “weeping with those who weep?”

Next to Luther, none holds, among the Reformers, a more distinguished rank than John Calvin. We may, therefore, now briefly examine whether the preaching and doctrines of the latter were as productive of civil strife and bloody commotions as we have seen those of the former to have been.

Calvin was a native of France, born at Noyon in Picardy. At an early age he renounced Catholicism, and leaving his country, for reasons best known to himself, he passed into Switzerland, carrying with him a dubious fame and doctrines, differing in many respects from those of Luther and the German Reformers. In 1536, he repaired to Geneva, already Protestantized by Farel and other zealous preachers of the new doctrines. By his talents, literary and political, he soon gained the ascendancy over his brother apostles. In concert with them, more particularly with Farel, he succeeded in banishing from Geneva, and from the territories of that small state,

the Anabaptists, who preached tenets contrary to his. He, shortly after, became master of Geneva, in every sense of the word, and established there a theocracy, or spiritual despotism, far surpassing that among the Jews of old, or even the alleged tyranny of modern Rome itself, such as it is represented by the greatest enemies of the Papacy. He became, indeed, a perfect tyrant. In the plenitude of his power he drew up a formulary, or confession of faith, and had influence enough at Geneva to cause it to be adopted by the council. The people swore "faithfully to uphold and observe it."

The consequences of this may be easily foreseen, and may be soon told. Under the name of the Council of Geneva, John Calvin of Noyon, governed both in temporal and spiritual affairs, the Genevan town and territories. Of course every thing was soon thrown into confusion. The despot carried things with too high a hand. As, however, the spirit of the people was not yet quite broken, and as he had not yet had time to familiarize them with the yoke he had imposed upon them, his tyranny stung them into rebellion, the natural consequence of which was, that both he and his colleague, Farel, were driven into exile. An indignant and outraged people dismissed their preachers with every mark of odium and contempt. These were the first fruits of Calvin's doctrines. On his arrival at Geneva he found all there comparatively quiet: in the course of a few short months he had rendered himself so odious that he was glad to escape, with his bare life, from the confines of the little republic, which his tyranny had thrown into a state of utter confusion.

He now began a wandering life, visiting Berne, Frankfort, Hagenau, Worms, Ratisbonne, Basle, and Strasburg, until he was recalled, in consequence of new intrigues, by the Genevese in 1541. During

these years of exile his days were spent in writing against Catholicism, disputing with his brother Reformers, and preparing for Geneva those adamantine chains with which, on his return, he loaded its deluded people. Never, in modern times, was tyranny equal to his: all who opposed him he termed libertines; and, these, says Audin, he pursued by mockery, irony and insult—in his religious capacity he excommunicated them, and, as a civil ruler he visited them, by means of his valets, with corporal punishment. We have already alluded to his cruelties against Gruet, Bolsec and Servetus, and to these names, illustrious in the long list of Protestants persecuted by Protestants, we might add many others on whose heads he called down the vengeance of heaven, and against whom he exerted all the power of the state.

But civil war, on a small scale, bore no proportion to the genius, and was not suited to the views, of the Reformation. In 1560, the French Huguenots were ready to rise in open rebellion, and, after consulting their most learned and devout theologians in France, Germany, and Geneva with regard to the legality of such a step, they engaged in that famous enterprise so well known in French history under the name of the conspiracy of Amboise. The object of the conspirators was to seize the person of the king and despatch the princes of the House of Guise. The project failed; but, the authors of so diabolical an attempt, and their ministers who sanctioned it, were no less guilty on that account. Calvin denied having in anywise countenanced or counselled so foul a deed; but he was evidently aware of the intentions of the leading men of his party: he was undoubtedly one of the most eminent divines of his day, and must naturally have been consulted as well as others of less repute, on an affair of so much impor-

tance ; and certain it is, he found no fault with the conspirators until their machinations had been discovered and defeated. At all events about two years after the times we allude to, he openly approved of the civil war waged by his party against Charles IX. The whole body of French Calvinists of the higher class, with perhaps a rare exception here and there, took part with the rebels on this occasion. The provincial and national synods approved of such conduct, censuring severely even ministers of the gospel who would not take up arms against their sovereign, or who, in repentance, had laid them down.—See *Bossuet's Variations*, Book X. section XXXV., and following.

But it is needless to pursue further this line of argument. It is evident from the whole of Calvin's Reforming career that, wherever he himself was, or into whatever country his doctrines penetrated, there peace gave way to discontent, disorder, tumult, persecution, and war. So productive of strife were his tenets deemed, even by his Reforming neighbours—the Protestants of Berne, that the authorities of that canton prohibited all and sundry within their limits from so much as speaking of, or discussing such of the Christian truths as were impervious to reason, that is, such as they had learned from sad experience, were apt to excite controversy, to beget quarrels and stir up civil commotions.—*Schiock, quoted by Honing*.

Having glanced at the unsocial, turbulent, and strife-creating effects resulting from the preaching and writings of the two great leaders of the Reformation during their own lifetime, and on the very spot where they spoke and wrote, we may now briefly state (and our statement will prove that we have not misrepresented aught connected with their history) under what painful circumstances, and with

what sad consequences their doctrines were received by the various countries which adopted them. Such a panoramic view of the introduction into the world of the new religion will enable thinking men to judge whence that religion came: whether it emanated from God—the God of peace and the fountain of all truth, or from him who was called “a liar and a murderer from the beginning.”—*St. John*.

We may begin with Germany, the birth-place of the Reformation. It was there, as we have already seen, that the new doctrines were first ushered into existence, amidst such plunderings, robberies, murders, rebellions, and such wide-spread devastation as the world had never witnessed since the mighty struggle between the last of the Romans and the invading nations of the North. The perpetration of so much mischief may be easily accounted for. In ordinary wars there are generally only two belligerent parties—in the wars to which the Reformation gave birth there were many. First, there were the Protestants fighting against the Catholics, and then fighting with one another. They contended with the Catholics for power, influence, and the spoils of the church, and they strove with one another that each party might obtain the ascendancy for their own opinions. The sad effects of such a state of things might be easily guessed, had we not authentic history at hand to acquaint us with the shocking details.

Scarcely had the banner of religious revolt against the church been unfurled, when the genius of the new system betrayed itself in the destruction of monasteries, the pillage of churches, the desecration and spoliation of altars, and the overthrow of all the emblems of Catholic worship in the now Lutheran portion of Germany. It is true, all Reformer as he was, Luther disapproved of some of these excesses,

and strove to check the iconoclastic zeal of Carlos-tadius and other Reformers when they barbarously profaned, plundered, and defaced the churches at Wittemberg. It is owing, perhaps, to this interference that the Lutheran temples retain more of the Catholic type than those of any other Protestant denomination. Be that as it may, he could not extinguish the flames which he himself had so rashly enkindled. The genius of evil had been evoked and no human power could now stay the hand of the destroying angel. This evil spirit seemed to accompany the new apostles into every place, so that, into no country could they introduce their doctrines in tranquil times, or by peaceable means. To Luther's principles Germany owed its "peasant's war," with all its horrors. Luther himself did not take an active part in this bloody strife, but he first sowed the seeds of dissension: he taught the first lesson of rebellion. He denounced war against all lawful authority: that of the supreme pontiff,—that of the emperors,—that of every prince and prelate who would not receive his gospel;—and, moreover, preachers trained in his school and deeply imbued with his doctrines, stirred up, by their seditious harangues, the angry passions of the people, and led the deluded peasantry, thus roused and excited, into the bloody field. On these occasions the orators acted as captains and generals. At intervals of leisure they wrote manifestoes in favour of the rebels and of their cause, widely diffusing them through all Germany, claiming the sympathy and suing for the aid of the whole German nation. After the victory, when their arms had prevailed, they were ever foremost in the destruction of monasteries, schools, churches, and sacrilegious atrocities of every kind.—(See Sartorius, a Protestant writer and professor at Gottingen; and Ruchat, another

Protestant author, quoted by Haller in his *Histoire de la Reforme dans la Suisse Occidentale*, Ch. IV.)

From his own Saxon soil the doctrines of Luther spread towards the North, and gained a firm footing in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Sweden was warmly attached to the Catholic faith; but, at the period of which we are writing (1520), its king, Gustavus Vasa, to whom, in a political point of view, it owed many obligations, was burdened with heavy debts incurred in the public service. In his distress he bethought him of calling in the new religion to his assistance. With this view he handed over to its preachers the souls of the people, while he himself appropriated to his own use the wealth of the church. With his connivance, and under his protection, two apostate preachers vilified the old doctrines and boldly developed the new. In the mean time the prince grievously oppressed the church with heavy and extraordinary taxes, and in 1523, he adopted a system of persecution and spoliation which has since been imitated, more than once, by the revolutionists of Spain, France, Italy, and other countries. He exacted from the convents a forced loan, and every successive year he made fresh demands; at length, he turned some of the monasteries into barracks, and his soldiers were quartered on the funds of the establishments; he next seized the tithes, cancelling by means of them his more pressing obligations, and quietly waiting for a favourable opportunity for grasping at the whole revenues of the church, on which he had long fixed a covetous eye; and which, in his secret soul, he long doomed to be his prey. He proceeded, however, with much characteristic caution in the joint work of spoliation and Reformation. He corresponded at once with the Pope and with Luther: he flattered the new preachers and threatened the

Catholic clergy sometimes, and sometimes deceived them with illusory promises.

As he strengthened his position he suffered the veil of hypocrisy, under which he had so long cloaked his proceedings, gradually to drop off; meanwhile the Dalecarlian mountaineers murmured, mutinied, and flew to arms. They threatened to hurl from that throne to which they had raised him, the false prince who persecuted their church. It required all his ingenuity to calm their justly excited passions, and restrain their zeal and wounded feelings. Still he persevered in the bad work: still he went on appropriating to his own use the goods of the church, and, like other reforming monarchs, he did not hesitate to shed the blood of his opponents. In 1529, two bishops, staunch defenders of the olden creed, after being deceived by false promises and a safe conduct, were, on their return from exile, publicly executed at Upsal, under circumstances of peculiar cruelty:—the holy prelates were broken on the wheel.*

Other bishops were driven into exile, and everywhere the Catholic clergy were subjected to the most intolerable tyranny. Of those who did not choose to apostatize, such as escaped death, were stript of their property and turned out on the world to die of hunger, cold, and starvation. The sight of so much

* The prelates, whose cruel fate we here allude to, were the Archbishop of Upsal, Knut, and Sunnanwaeder, Bishop of Westeraes. They had left the kingdom to avoid persecution, and only consented to return to it again on the faith of a safe-conduct forwarded to them by Gustavus. On their return they were immediately seized, by his orders, and after undergoing every indignity, and bearing with patience every insult, they were put to a cruel death—they were broken on the wheel. They who talk so loudly about the fate of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, would do well to remember the sad end of the two holy bishops of Sweden.

misery, inflicted on innocent and worthy men, was more than the people could bear. Discontent spread rapidly over the country. Gothland and Finland broke out into open rebellion. In 1528, the king, to reduce the insurgents, had recourse to his wonted expedients—falsehood and fraud. He offered a safe conduct and honourable terms to such of the Dalecarlians as would meet him at Tina. The simple and honest-hearted men, who had devoted their lives to the service of Gustavus, and to whom he was indebted for his throne, hastened to the place of rendezvous full of confidence in the word and honour of their prince. To their horror they soon found they had fallen into a snare: they beheld themselves surrounded by 14,000 armed men whose muskets were already at their breasts. It was too late to retreat, and vain to remonstrate. Their doom was sealed. A certain number of them was selected as being the most guilty, and, after a mock trial, they were shot without mercy. The survivors were, of course, happy to escape with their lives, and thus the flames of rebellion were quenched only by the blood of a pious and brave peasantry unworthily betrayed; thus the new creed was firmly established in those cold and ungenial regions, civilized only a few centuries before by the mild genius of Catholicism.

On these lamentable facts a chronicler of the age quaintly remarks:—"The provinces which remained tranquil were terror-struck, for they knew, how, with a strong hand, the king had compelled the inhabitants of the villages to submit to his will."—*Honinghaus La Reforme contre la Reforme*, Vol. I., p. 426. From time to time, indeed, dating from this period, and during some years, some convulsive throes showed that life was still lingering in the prostrate Catholic body in Sweden; but it had already received the death stroke from the hand of

the oppressor, and soon it altogether ceased to exist. Such was the introduction of Lutheranism into Sweden: it owed its entry into that country to the rapacity of the prince, and it was maintained there by his deceit and barbarous cruelty.

Denmark embraced the Reformation, or rather, the doctrines of the Reformers, were forced upon that country about the same time, and almost by the same means as they were imposed on Sweden. Christiern II., the greatest tyrant, and one of the most cruel princes of the age, himself a nominal Catholic, struck down Catholicism in his kingdom, that, like a highway robber, he might more easily plunder his helpless victim. Ere he had well commenced his bad work, his subjects, unable to bear any longer his cruel oppressions, drove him from the throne in 1523. He was succeeded by Frederick, Duke of Holstein, a Lutheran, and, of course, anxious to establish his creed in his newly acquired dominions. At his coronation he swore to protect and maintain the Catholic faith; but his interest soon taught him to forget his oath.* He secretly

* Catholics are often taxed with seeking a dispensation from oaths, the observance of which is found inconvenient: and it is alleged that, as a *salvo* to their conscience, they not unfrequently purchase such dispensations at a considerable price. Protestants, however, go about this kind of work in a more business-like and more economical way. They either boldly break their oaths, as in this case and a thousand others to which we might refer; or they *revoke* them as did the Senate of Sweden when it deposed King Erik, son of Gustavus Wasa, and chose his brother to reign in his stead. On that occasion "the Senate and the States REVOKED their oaths of fidelity, and solemnly elected John (brother to Eric) to the vacant throne."—*Crichton's Scandinavia*, Vol. II., p. 29. We humbly commend such *revocations* as these to the consideration of Protestant casuists; and, we would ask, are they not worse than the worst possible dispensation—worse even than the *Revocation* of the edict of Nantes.

favoured the new doctrines which were daily making alarming progress. In 1530, he threw off the mask, granting full liberty to the Lutherans for the exercise of their religion, which meant, in the language of the time, ample and unrestricted power to plunder, profane and demolish the Catholic churches. The monks were driven from their monasteries—the clergy from the temples of their God. In consequence of these acts of cruelty and injustice, serious disturbances broke out in various parts of the kingdom: on Christmas night, Copenhagen was thrown into confusion by a dreadful riot, during which, the churches were invaded and plundered, the images broken, and the altars profaned. The Catholics were assailed in the Cathedral itself by a tumultuous rabble, and might have been all massacred had not the king himself come to their rescue, and saved both the worshippers and the house of worship by forcibly turning out the rioters and shutting the gates. The same scenes were enacted at Jutland; and there, and in Denmark, the faithful adherents to the olden creed were treated with as much barbarity as in any other European country. To Frederick succeeded Christiern III., who completed the Reformation in his kingdom in the usual and most approved method,—by appropriating to himself, and distributing among his creatures, the spoils of the church and of the poor. The gain, if there really was gain on any side, in this work of spoliation, was on that of the princes and the nobility. The lion's share of the booty fell to their lot: they kept the nut to themselves and threw the shell to the deluded people.

Into Norway and Iceland, then subject to Denmark, the Reformation was imported from this latter kingdom. The Norwegian clergy, to their shame be it said, after a brief struggle, gave way to

the royal authority, and consented to receive the new doctrine : but the faithful Icelanders boldly stood out in defence of their faith, sternly and firmly refusing obedience to a lay pope, whom, however, they willingly recognized as their temporal sovereign.* But that sovereign, according to the genius of his sect, would be obeyed even in spiritual matters. He compelled his subjects to adopt his creed, thus affording a practical illustration of the boasted freedom of the Reformation.

To show how little influence the superior merits of the new creed had, in obtaining in Iceland, as in other countries, the ascendancy, we will translate from the Protestant historian, Mallet, the history of its introduction into that northern region :—

“ It was in Iceland that the Reformation met with the most obstinate resistance. There the bishops defended, with all their power, the established church. Alone, of all the provinces subject to Denmark, Iceland fought for the old religion with an obstinacy powerfully strengthened by the influence of the clergy. When, therefore, the emissaries of the king had come to proclaim on its soil a doctrine which could not fail to displease the clerical body, an almost general rebellion took place. A royal officer was assassinated, in 1539, at the instigation, it was said, of the Bishop of Skalholt. Then the king sent into Iceland, Hwitfeld and two ships of war, with orders to seize the culprit, to deprive him

* Whatever Exeter Hall may say to the contrary, it is a fact, to which all modern history bears testimony, that Catholics never confounded the obedience they owe to the Sovereign Pontiff in spiritual matters with the loyalty due to their temporal Prince. The same cannot be said of modern heretics : in all European countries they have uniformly preferred the interests of their sect to the peace and welfare of their native land ; and hence those cruel civil wars of the three last centuries.

of his office, and to put into his place a Lutheran of the name of Einersen. This individual endeavoured to establish Protestantism in Iceland; but Arnesen, bishop of Holam, defended his religion with a zeal equal, at least, to the efforts of Einersen: he was supported by the people, whom he had succeeded in stirring up against the Protestant prelate, who saw himself obliged to return to Denmark and claim the king's assistance. Arnesen was summoned to Denmark to give an account of his conduct; but, far from obeying this order, he armed a portion of the people, took possession of the person of Einersen, whom the king had re-established, and disposed, as he thought proper, of government situations as they became vacant. The senate of Denmark declared him a rebel, and sent, in 1550, twelve ships of war and five hundred men, under the command of Axel Juuls, to put in execution the sentence pronounced against Arnesen. The royal officer found the island divided between two factions, who were each fighting for what they called the true religion. The Protestant party, supported by the royal authority, was ultimately victorious: Arnesen was made prisoner and was beheaded by order of a peasant who commanded the Protestants, and who had persuaded himself, that the interest of religion sanctifies all means, however unjust. The clergy, the government officials, and the most distinguished families, were compelled to bind themselves by oath, and in the name of all the inhabitants, to remain faithful to the crown of Denmark. Dating from that epoch there was, in Iceland, only one authority for temporal affairs as well as for matters of religion."—*Honinghaus*, Vol. I., p. 463.

Such, once more, was the introduction of the Reformation into a Catholic country; it made its way, by royal order, on ships of war, through injustice, bloodshed, and all the horrors of a civil war.

Whilst the Protestant kings of Denmark and Sweden were but too successfully labouring to overthrow the Catholic religion in their states, the three immediate successors of Charles V. had much difficulty in preventing the new doctrines from supplanting the ancient faith in almost every province of the empire. These princes were of a mild and conciliating temper, averse to persecution, anxious to do justice between all parties, and tolerant of the new confession, when its professors were content to confine themselves within the bounds of moderation. But this they never could do ; the spirit of the sect was essentially aggressive : once introduced into any country heresy would be sole master there. Hence, we find the innovators, in the times we allude to, heading every rebellion, or, at least, abetting every rebel, in the wide domains of the House of Austria, in Hungary, Bohemia, Austria proper, and even joining with the Turks against the Catholics, then, as long before, the brave defenders of Christendom against the Mahometan aggression.

The charge of unscrupulously encroaching on the old creed at the expense of justice and of peace, which we urge against Protestantism, is frankly admitted by the impartial historians of Germany, whatever their faith may be. Schiller, in his "Thirty Years' War," does not seek to conceal the fact ; and to it he attributes those frightful calamities, to which even his graphic pen has been unable to do justice. Our limits will permit us barely to allude to them ; but the reader will find them related in detail in the pages of Schiller, Mitchel,* and other historians. That they were the fruits of the principles of the Reformation, and emanated from the grasping spirit of its preachers, and the rapacity of the princes who

* See Mitchel's Life of the Great Wallenstein.

supported it is admitted on all hands. Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., and his immediate successor on the imperial throne, who had ample opportunity of thoroughly knowing the Reformers, and who carried forbearance towards them to the verge of weakness, thus complains of their intractability. "What contradiction," says that emperor, "exists among Protestant princes, who, while they declare that no one is bound to obey another in things pertaining to faith, yet never fail to exact, in these very same things, obedience on the part of their subjects, even when knowledge and conscience intimate that obedience should be withheld: and who even compel the subjects of other powers to embrace their religion, and seek to seduce them from their allegiance to these powers."—*Postscriptum d'un Mémoire du 10 Août 1555, joint au Testament de l'Empereur Ferdinand I.*

The sovereign who spoke thus is characterized by Schiller, as a prince "with a heart full of sincerity, and of a truly heroic patience;" and he has been praised by that historian for labouring assiduously, though vainly, at the "ungrateful task of reconciling the two religions." For, "his indulgence to the Protestants served only to bring upon his successors a war, which death saved himself the mortification of witnessing."—*Thirty Years' War.*

The truth is, Protestantism coveted the property of the Catholic body, especially church property, and every new acquisition it made only whetted its appetite for more plunder. This is the real secret of all those wars, and the true source of all those miseries which mark the epoch of the Reformation. Schiller speaks with much frankness on this subject. Alluding to the Peace of Augsburg, he justly observes:—"Carefully as the treaty of peace appeared to have defined the rights of both parties, its interpretation

was nevertheless the subject of many disputes. In the heat of the conflict it had produced a cessation of hostilities ; it covered, not extinguished, the fire, and unsatisfied claims remained on either side. The Romanists imagined they had lost too much, the Protestants, that they had gained too little. The seizure of the ecclesiastical benefices—the motive which had so strongly tempted the majority of the Protestant princes to embrace the doctrines of Luther—was not less powerful after than before the peace.”—*Thirty Years’ War*, page 13. Hence that peace was so often broken, and hence those mournful events which, during a century and more, kept Germany in a state of combustion, and drew so many tears from the eyes, and so much blood from the veins of its numerous populations.

Whoever reads the history of that country will acknowledge that, here, there is no exaggeration on our part. “Germany,” says Menzel, “is reckoned, by some, to have lost one-half, by others, two-thirds of her entire population during the ‘Thirty Years War.’ In Saxony, nine hundred thousand men had fallen within two years ; in Bohemia, the number of the inhabitants, at the demise of Ferdinand II., before the last deplorable inroads made by Barner and Torstenson, had sunk to one-fourth. Augsburg, instead of eighty, had eighteen thousand inhabitants. Every province, every town throughout the empire had suffered in an equal ratio, with the exception of the Tyrol, which had repulsed the enemy from her frontiers, and had enjoyed the deepest peace during this period of horror. The country was completely impoverished. The manufactories had been destroyed by fire, industry and commerce had passed into other hands. Immense provinces, once flourishing and populous, lay entirely waste and uninhabited.”—*Vol. II., p. 396.*

These were the sad results of the spread of the Reformation—the bitter fruits reaped from the private reading and interpreting of the Bible. That they are traceable to this cause, and that they are its natural effects we may rest satisfied from the fact incidentally stated by the historian, whose words we have just transcribed, and also from the admission of countless authors, among others, of Schiller, whose remarks on this subject we will just quote:—“From the beginning of the religious wars,” says he, “to the peace of Munster (better known as the peace of Westphalia), scarcely anything great or remarkable occurred in the political world of Europe in which the Reformation had not an important share. All the events of this period, if they did not originate in, soon became mixed up with, the question of religion, and no state was either too great or too little to feel directly or indirectly more or less of its influence.”—Thirty Years’ War, page 1. Among the first fruits, then, produced by the Reformed doctrines, was, a “thirty years’ war,” which, from the interior of Bohemia to the mouth of the Scheldt, and from the banks of the Po to the coasts of the Baltic, devastated whole countries, destroyed harvests, and reduced towns and villages to ashes; which opened a grave for many thousand combatants, and which, for half a century, smothered the glimmering sparks of civilization in Germany, and threw back the improving manners of the country into something not very unlike their pristine rudeness and barbarism.

From this desolating war, and its “woes unnumbered,” one country escaped—a country closely connected with Germany, a very portion of Germany itself, and an integral part of the Germanic empire—the Tyrol. But the Tyrol, as the historian remarks, had rejected the Reformation, had remained faithful to the peaceful creed of the olden times. “The Tyrol,”

to use the naive expressions of Menzel, "had repulsed the enemy (that is the new doctrines) from her frontiers," and the guerdon of her fidelity was, that she enjoyed the "deepest peace" during a long series of years, which were, to her less faithful neighbours "a period of horror."

Enough, we think, has been said to prove, as far as Germany is concerned, what we contend for, viz.—that wherever the Reformation was introduced it brought in its train civil strife. This certainly is true, evidently true, with regard to Lutheranism: we will now, then, turn our attention, for a time, to those countries into which Calvinism found its way, and we shall see it to have been no less productive of civil discord than its eldest sister, Lutheranism.

It is the just observation of Henke, a Protestant writer, that as there were many Reformers there should also be many kinds of Reform, according to the views, the interests, the idiosyncrasy of each individual, and according to the gift vouchsafed to each for the interpretation of the Bible. To this it is owing that, although Protestantism has some points of resemblance in all countries where it has succeeded in obtaining a footing; yet, in all countries it has many features characteristic of its several apostles, or the circumstances attending its introduction, or the people among whom it was introduced. The Protestantism of no two nations is exactly the same. Its two great divisions, however, are best known by the respective names of the two most illustrious Reformers—Luther and Calvin. The doctrines and influence of these men spread wider, and produced more important results in Europe than those of their brother preachers. We mention this because, in our observations on the tumultuous origin and diffusion of Protestantism, we speak almost exclusively of Lutheranism and

Calvinism, under which denominations we would be understood to include the numerous progeny of the many "Fathers of the Reformation." This applies more particularly to Switzerland, which, although not originally Protestantized by Calvin, may yet be called Calvinistic, on account of Calvin's adopting some of the Swiss Protestant doctrines, or the Swiss Protestants conforming, as they certainly did, to many of his.

Having mentioned this, to avoid cavil, we may proceed to observe that, in Switzerland and Geneva, the Reformed doctrines attained to supremacy by passing through paths stained with blood.

On the 26th of January, 1524, deputies from twelve cantons, including the canton of Berne, met at Lucerne, and published a severe edict against the Reformers. They unanimously agreed to maintain the Catholic Religion, and they sent a deputation to Zurich to engage the inhabitants of that canton to repel the new opinions, under pain of being excluded from the Swiss union.—(*Haller*, p. 22.) Notwithstanding this opposition, the Reformed doctrines made rapid progress in the canton of Berne: already, in less than a year, from the date of the meeting at Lucerne, one-half of the canton had pronounced for Protestantism. In 1528, the Catholic altars and their ornaments were devoted to destruction by a decree of the Bernese Protestants; and this decree applied, not merely to the churches, but to private houses also, in which it was no longer permitted to worship according to the Catholic form. The saying of Mass was every where forbidden, and such of the clergy as disregarded this prohibition were outlawed: the people even were strictly prohibited from hearing Mass in their own canton, or going to hear it in the neighbouring Catholic cantons. Catholicism was wholly proscribed. These

edicts, and the cruelty with which they were executed, speedily produced their natural results. Switzerland, hitherto during so many ages, the privileged abode of the brave, the happy and the free, was suddenly thrown into confusion and anarchy. "Every where," says Haller, "you beheld hatred, disturbance, and acts of violence; everywhere discord and division prevailed: discord between the cantons,—discord between the various governments,—discord between the sovereign and the subjects,—discord, in short, and division in each parish, and in each family. The defection of Berne from Catholicism, in which wicked work the inhabitants of Zurich had laboured assiduously during six years, had let loose on Switzerland all it contained of revolutionary and bad men. On all sides new disturbances broke out—at Basle, at St. Gall, at Bienne in Thurgovia, at Franenfeldt, at Mellingen, at Bremgarten, at Herisau, at Wellingen, and at Shaffhausen.—*Haller*, p. 62. To avoid the horrors of a civil war, the Catholic party, still the most numerous and the strongest, had already made, and were still willing to make many sacrifices; but their opponents were unreasonable, and would listen to no terms. Protestantism would be supreme at whatever cost. Zurich, therefore, sent its army into the field under the auspices of Zuinglius. It was met and defeated in October 1531, by the troops of the five Catholic cantons, who still rejected the Reformation. Zuinglius himself fell in the battle; proving, by his presence in the field, in the midst of all kinds of arms, that he did not trust for success in his mission to the Bible alone.

On again rallying and coming into the field against the five cantons, the troops of Zurich and its allies, although much superior in number to the enemy, were beaten a second time and driven back

with great loss in men, money, and their entire baggage. The Bernese, who had come to the assistance of the Zurich-men, made a precipitate retreat, closely pursued by the Catholic army, who might, had they thought it expedient, have marched into Berne, and liberated that canton from the tyranny of the Reformers, as their ancestors had liberated, of yore, the whole of Switzerland from a less degrading and less burdensome yoke. But they were unfortunately too moderate for the times they lived in, and the enemies they had to deal with, and influenced by their own kind feelings and the perfidious advice of intermeddling mediators, they gave peace to the men of Berne on the same conditions on which they had given it a few days previous to those of Zurich. The treaty was signed at Bremgarten on the 22nd of November, 1546.—*Haller*, as above.

Taught by sad experience, the Bernese gave no further trouble for a while to the Catholic cantons: but they busied themselves, in the mean time, in eradicating by a mixture of fraud and force, whatever remained of the old religion within their own territory. The zeal, however, of these men would submit to only a temporary restraint: it led them to offer to the inhabitants of Geneva that new gospel so indignantly rejected by the five victorious cantons. Geneva, having got into a quarrel with the Duke of Savoy, had applied for aid to the Bernese. These flew to its assistance. The first exploits of the allies were worthy of the men, and characteristic of the times. They hastened to pull down the crosses, to break the images, to deface the altars, to plunder the shrines and the tabernacles, trampling under foot the ashes of the holy dead and the adorable Eucharistic elements. Farel, a native of Gap, in Dauphiny, was appointed to preach, and he ha-

rangued in the style of the day to anxious crowds, especially of young persons, who were delighted to exchange the austere doctrines of Catholic truth and the salutary discipline of the church for the more comfortable tenets of the new creed, and that gospel liberty which it so loudly proclaimed. The more aged and sage portion of the Genevan community paid little regard to the preacher. The magistrates ordered him to quit the territory under pain of imprisonment. In compliance with this order he himself withdrew; but his pupil Froment remained behind to continue his master's work and spread his doctrines. He too, notwithstanding the efforts made by his friends to retain him, was in the course of some time obliged to retire. But the evil was already done; and it was now too late to extinguish the flames which had been secretly and slowly enkindled. The adherents of the exiled preachers assembled in a garden around an honest bonnet-maker, John Guerin, and, under his auspices, celebrated the "Last Supper." These scandalous scenes aroused the indignation of the canton of Fribourg then as now, faithful to their ancestral creed. It warned its Genevan allies, that if they rejected the Catholic religion they must make up their minds to lose its friendship also. On the other hand, they were as plainly told by the Bernese that, if they continued to oppose the spread of the new doctrines within their walls, they must in future times of trouble look elsewhere for assistance than to Berne.

Under these circumstances, the two parties into which Geneva was divided, flew to arms,—the Catholics to maintain the faith of their fathers—the Protestants to establish the so-called Reformation. There was, as might be expected, much hard fighting, and much bloodshed,—then a truce, then an appeal to

arms followed by another truce, and an agreement to the effect that each party should be allowed to follow whichever form of religion pleased them best. Unfortunately, just at this time, the Catholic body was weakened by the impolitic departure of its bishop, who went to reside with the Duke of Savoy, while in his absence the Bernese lent a moral aid to the Protestants, which soon rendered their influence paramount. Farel and Froment returned to the city, where their harangues soon stirred up the people to such a frantic state of fanaticism that they threw themselves with irresistible fury on every thing Catholic, involving in one common ruin all but the bare walls of the churches. They challenged the Catholics to meet them in controversy; they invited them to defend their religion, an invitation which, coming as it did, from a turbulent and excited people and mere laymen, was, perhaps, sincerely enough given, but could not either safely or consistently be accepted by grave divines. The challenge was accordingly declined; and the consequence was, that the council, consisting of two hundred members, selected from among the citizens, published a decree in 1535, utterly and for ever abolishing the Catholic religion, and making it imperative on every citizen of Geneva to embrace the Reformed doctrines. To perpetuate the record of so remarkable a fact, the following inscription was placed over the door of the Town-hall:—"In memory of the favour done to us by Almighty God, who enabled us to shake off the yoke of the Roman Antichrist and abolish his superstition." In a short time the Catholic clergy, and such of their flocks as did not choose to apostatize, were driven into exile. Geneva, now reformed and purified, could not brook their presence. Calvin made it, a few years later, the seat of his popedom; and from that day until our own

times the adopted city of John of Noyon has been considered the Rome of the Reformation.—*Haller, passim; Receveur Histoire de l'Eglise*, Tom. VII., 359-60.

From Geneva we may pass into France. In that country, more than in any other in Europe, where it did not at last succeed in obtaining the ascendancy, did the genius of the Reformation display its baneful tendencies. There, time after time, for more than a century, it was seen to revel in disorder, plunder, sacrilege, and the effusion of torrents of blood.

The introduction of the Protestant doctrines into France took place shortly after the commencement of the Reformation, and was effected in a most insidious manner, far removed from all received ideas of apostolic simplicity. Francis I., a lover of letters and of literary men, was favourably known for the encouragement he afforded to learned foreigners, who sought to improve their fortunes by settling in his dominions. Luther, apprised of this, wrote himself, and caused the Elector to write to the French monarch, flattering his vanity and eulogising his laudable efforts in the great cause of reviving learning. Luther at the same time forwarded to the king some of his less offensive writings, and sent along with them a few of his disciples, who in his own opinion and that of Melancthon excelled in literature. These men had in reality no more than an ordinary amount of knowledge, and could teach the French "litterateurs" little more than they knew before; but they imported into France (and this is what was chiefly aimed at by the German heretics) the new doctrines, which they lost no opportunity of instilling into the minds of their pupils, while explaining to these unsuspecting youths the principles of the Greek and Hebrew grammars. They entered

into frequent controversy with the Catholic divines on the religious questions of the day. In these discussions, at which persons of all ranks, including princes of the blood royal, were present, the German literati professed great contempt for the Latin vulgate, referring with much parade of learning on all contested points to the Greek and Hebrew texts. The ignorant and giddy were dazzled with these pedantic displays. A well-intentioned prelate, the Bishop of Meaux, a great lover of learning, suffered himself to be imposed upon for a time; and it soon became evident to all that heresy had begun to insinuate its poison into the minds of the unguarded. Complaints were urged against the Lutheran professors, which caused inquiries to be made into the principles they were accused of teaching, they were not prepared for this, but taking guilt to themselves, and having no relish for the honours of martyrdom, they made for the most part a precipitate and undignified retreat into their own country.*

But the evil was already done. The "enemy" had sown among the good seed that fatal cockle which all the ingenuity of the husbandman for many succeeding generations was not able to eradicate. In vain were the rigour of the French parliaments

* The Reformers felt no scruple in having recourse to *pious frauds*, in order to introduce their heretical books into Catholic countries. Their feats in this respect are alluded to, with approving smiles, by M'Crie in his "History of the Reformation in Italy and Spain." "Some of them (the writings of the Protestants) were translated into the Italian language, and, to elude the vigilance of the inquisitors, were published under disguised and fictitious names, by which means they made their way into Rome, and even into the palace of the Vatican. The works of Zuingli were circulated under the name of Coricius Cogelius! and several editions of Martin Bucer's commentary on the Psalms were sold in Italy and France as the work of Arctius Felinus. In this last instance the stra-

and the learning of the Sorbonne exerted against the nascent heresy, its principles spread daily more and more, and its disciples, as they increased in numbers, acquired more audacity, and preferred such

tagem was used with the consent of the author. I am employed (says Bucer in a letter to Zuingle) in an exposition of the Psalms, which, at the urgent request of our brethren in France and Lower Germany, I propose to publish under a foreign name, that the work may be bought by their booksellers. For it is a capital crime to import into these countries books which bear our names. I therefore pretend that I am a Frenchman, and, if I do not change my mind, will send forth the book as the production of *Aretius Felinus*, which, indeed, is my name and surname, the former in Greek, and the latter in Latin."—*M'Crie's "Italy,"* p. 35-6.

Sometimes the Reformers wormed themselves into the bosoms of families, and embraced the favourable opportunity of quietly and slyly spreading abroad their hidden poison. Of this perfidy, several instances are recorded by M'Crie, with evident signs of approbation. "During a visit," says that author, "which the Pontiff, Paul III., paid to Ferrara, in the year 1543, the *Adelphi* of Terence was acted by the youth of the family, and the three daughters of the duke, the eldest of whom was only twelve, and the youngest five years of age, performed their parts with great applause. His Holiness was not then aware of the religious sentiments of the masters by whom the juvenile princesses had been qualified for affording him that classical amusement. Chilian and John Sinapi, two brothers from Germany, instructed them in Greek, and being *Protestants*, imbued their minds with sound views of religion."—*Ib.*, p. 73.

Similar arts were employed to diffuse the "blessings" of the Reformation among the Spaniards. By the pious, though not very honest endeavours of Julian Hernandez, a cargo of heretical books were smuggled into Spain, in 1557. This worthy "having," says M'Crie, "imbibed the Reformed doctrines in Germany, he had come to Geneva and entered into the service of Juan Perez as amanuensis and corrector of the press. Two large casks, filled with translations of the Scriptures and other Protestant books in Spanish, were, in 1557, committed to his trust, which he undertook to convey by land; and having eluded the vigilant eyes of the inquisitorial familiars, he lodged his precious charge safely in the house of one

unreasonable claims, as soon made it too evident that they aimed at nothing less than the total overthrow of the French church and government.

Here we should recount the sad effects of so impious and so daring a project—here we should delineate and describe those scenes of woe: those internecine factions, those riotings, burnings, murderings, massacrings, which, for so many years, turned the fair fields of France into one vast hacedama—here we might harrow up the feelings of our readers by strewing the path with the countless corpses, over which heresy found its way into that country, and retained a partial footing there. But we have no heart for such a task, and, besides, our limits would not permit us to undertake it.

These crimes and cruelties of the Reformation in France are shortly, but most affectingly alluded to by one of France's noblest, dearest, and most valued sons—Louis, the Dauphin, father of Louis XV., and

of the chief Protestants of Seville, by whom the contents were quickly dispersed among his friends in different parts of the country.”—*M'Crie's "Spain,"* p. 205.

Julian Hernandez, however, was “simplicity” itself in comparison with another apostle of Protestant Spain. “In the city of Zamora, the Protestants were headed by Don Christobal de Padill, a cavalier, who had undertaken the task of tutor to a noble family of that place, that he might have the better opportunity of propagating the knowledge of the truth.”—*M'Crie's "Spain,"* p. 231. When recently some ultra-Protestant journalists accused the guileless and guiltless Father Ignatius of having given crafty counsel to Catholic servant-maids, as to how they should proceed in the laudable undertaking of converting their heretical mistresses, they must have been dreaming about the “ingenious device” of that zealous missionary Don Christobal de Padill. Alas! we had thought in our simplicity that none but *ignorant* monks could be guilty of *pious frauds*: but now, thanks to Dr. M'Crie, we feel convinced that holy “*ingenuity*” was an early characteristic of Protestant saints and cavaliers.

the pupil of the illustrious Fenelon. In a paper, written by his own hand, for the benefit of his children, and which still exists, he says, that although he felt unwilling to dwell on the long series of disorders and treasonable acts which marked the career of the Protestant Reformers in France, yet he could not wholly ignore them; for the record of them was indelibly engraved on authentic monuments, public and patent to all. It was a fact, which could not be denied, that they held secret assemblies; formed illegal associations, bound together by the sacred ties of an oath,—that they leagued themselves with foreigners against their country,—that they refused to pay the taxes,—that they plundered the public funds,—that they indulged in seditious threats, conspired against the nation and levied war against it,—that they took, sacked, and burned cities; attempted the life of the sovereign, massacred their fellow-citizens in cold blood, and committed such horrible crimes, perpetrated such sacrileges in the churches as, up to that time, the world had never witnessed. These, and other such atrocities, the prince merely alludes to; his pen refuses to write at length on such a lamentable subject; and he declares that from the time of Francis I., that is, during the respective reigns of seven monarchs, all the evils he refers to, and many besides, had, with more or less intensity, been inflicted on France by the Protestant portion of the community.—*Feller's Dict. ad vocem Louis XIV.*

Bossuet, in the tenth book of his “History of the Variations” proves, in the most satisfactory manner, the crimes and atrocities laid to the charge of the French Protestants: his clear and irrefragable proofs are drawn from Sleidan, Beza, and other Protestant authors, and, sometimes, from the words and actions of Calvin himself; elsewhere, he depicts, in colours

which time can never efface, the awful calamities, which the same parties drew down upon their country — calamities, in the very existence of which the world would scarcely believe, were not all their circumstances recorded in public documents kept in the chief cities of France.—See *Cinquième Avertissement sur les Lettres de Jurieu*.

Foreigners, as well as natives of France, have commented in no measured terms, on the crimes committed in that country by the apostles and disciples of the new doctrines. They are spoken of in strong language by a Protestant writer, too clear-sighted to resist the evidence of facts, and too honest to seek to withhold it. “When Catholics,” says he, “are upbraided with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, they are wont to answer, with a sigh, that their ancestors were reduced to the necessity of acting as they did on that occasion in self-defence against enemies ever ready to destroy their religion and their government.” “Far better,” continues he, “would it be for them to retort on Protestants their implacable hatred, and the cruel fanaticism of their vindictive, persecuting, and ever intolerant spirit. Just before the deplorable event referred to, the French parliament pictured the ferocious cruelty of Protestants in such colours as struck terror into the Catholic portion of the nation: two conspiracies, that of Amboise, and that of Meaux, five civil wars, fortresses delivered up to the enemy, monasteries pillaged and destroyed, priests murdered, nuns assassinated, the faithful unmercifully slaughtered in the churches during divine service, or whilst walking in religious procession in the streets of Paris, Pamiers, Rhodes, Valence, &c., furnished innumerable and incontestable proofs of the sanguinary barbarity with which the Huguenots had disgraced themselves in the midst of general peace;” “and, in

all truth," says the author, whose narrative we are abridging, "I would not, were I so inclined, deny the justice of these accusations which are too well proved by all that has taken place in connexion with the Reformation both in France and in England."—*Fitz-William, quoted by Hœninghaus, Vol. I., p. 465.*

That during the turbulent times of which we are writing, and whilst such lamentable scenes were being enacted, the Catholic party, or at least every portion of it, conducted themselves so as to deserve no reproach: that they did not repel force by force, and sometimes commit positive injustice by punishing the innocent with, or in place of the guilty, need not be denied. It is impossible that, while men contend with men, it should be otherwise. But what we want to prove, and what can be satisfactorily enough established, is this, that the Reformers were the aggressors,—that they invaded the just rights of their neighbours,—that they employed, to carry their point, fraud and force combined,—in short, that in France, as every where else, the Reformation was productive of CIVIL STRIFE.

Should it be alleged that the Huguenots were driven to crime by persecution, our answer is, that their crimes drew down persecution on their heads. The first Protestants in France were foreigners, who, as we have seen, come from Germany professedly to teach Greek and Hebrew. Along with these languages they infused into the minds of youth the poison of their heretical doctrines. Will any one say that, when, on their duplicity being discovered, they were banished from the kingdom, they did not deserve a more severe punishment? They were treated, as indeed, were their disciples, whom on their flight they left behind them, with much considerate mildness, as long as their own audacious

outrages on the religion of the country did not provoke the anger of the people and the vengeance of the government. That they were not persecuted until they well deserved the most rigorous treatment is admitted by no less an authority than that of Hume, the Historian, who many times bore false witness against Catholicism, but was never yet accused of saying any thing untrue in its favour. Writing to Adam Smith on the 9th of January, 1775, Hume says, "The Huguenots in France were not persecuted. They were really seditious, turbulent people, whom their king was not able to reduce to obedience. The French persecutions did not begin until sixty years after.—Burton's Life of Hume, *ad annum*, 1775. From this it appears that the French monarchs were more tolerant of injuries than most men. They did not chastise their turbulent and seditious subjects until the experience of many a long year satisfied them that mercy should at length give place to justice. So says one cool Scotch philosopher privately writing to another. Stronger evidence to prove our position we need not and shall not seek.*

* The true genius of Calvin and Calvinism has been duly appreciated by one of the most able and amiable writers of the day. It may not be amiss to lay his estimate of the Genevan Reformer before the eyes of our readers in a country where the doctrines of Calvin have been long prevalent.

"Of Calvin himself it is not necessary to speak here, some may think: '*Dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi*;' and with regard to his disciples it will be sufficient to cite the testimony of Grotius, when he says, '*Calvini discipuli ubicunque invalluere, imperia turbaverunt*,' that is, that the disciples of Calvin have stirred up rebellion in every kingdom where they obtained the ascendancy." Most certainly, if ever the standard of rebellion was lifted up, it was in France by the Calvinists; and though the generous heart will be always on the side of brave men who suffer oppression, still, unless we assume the position that subjects may make war with their king on account of his religion

Into the countries bordering on the north-east of France the Reformation was introduced in the usual way, by treason, tumult, rebellion, and wading through seas of blood. The Netherlands embraced Calvinism, a doctrine palatable, of course, to the Huguenots, and which secured to these provinces the sympathy and powerful aid of these religionists. Encouraged by them and by the English who had already, under the influence of a voluptuous king, declared for the comfortable doctrines of the Reformation, Holland threw off at once its allegiance to the olden creed and to the Spanish crown. We cannot enter into the details connected with these events; but we may give from a Protestant historian, Schiller, the

(for this was their only pretence) we cannot justly condemn those who resisted them: they were the first to provoke by conspiring against the king and his ministers, and then they saw it did not become *gens de cœur* to suffer themselves to be put down; and that is very true: but then, as Bossuet says, if they were determined to be *gens de cœur* in this manner, they should have renounced the character of religious martyrs. We must not be surprised at the zeal and horror of the opposite side, for nothing can be more shocking to a reasonable piety than the enormities committed, systematically in France, by the Calvinists, in every city which fell into their hands. At Lyons, for instance, in 1562, some of the memorials of the earliest ages of Christianity were wantonly destroyed, and the bones of brutes mixed with those of the Christians martyred under Severus, A.D. 202."

"Calvin wrote to the Baron des Adrets to desire that his 'soldiers should do violence to no man, and be content with their wages,' which was to recognize them as a lawful army; and Beza, by his sermons, as he himself confesses and boasts, was one of the principal instigators of the war, and it is certain, upon his testimony, that when the prince desired peace, he only demanded the opinion of the gentlemen bearing arms; so that the ministers were not even heard nor admitted to advise against it. With respect to the French Calvinists, even writers on their own side have said, that the impartiality of history cannot blame the conduct of Richelieu in opposing them."—*Digby's Morus*, p. 123-4.

character of the new apostles who evangelised the Low Countries, and briefly allude in his language to the scenes which resulted from and characterised their preaching.

The Spanish rule had become odious to the Netherlanders, and they stood ready with arms in their hands to proclaim their liberty and to defend it. "No moment could be more favourable to the Huguenots and the German Protestants, than the present, to seek a market for their dangerous commodity* in the Netherlands. Accordingly, every considerable town now swarmed with suspicious arrivals, masked spies, and the apostles of every description of heresy. Of the religious parties which had sprung up by secession from the ruling church, three chiefly had made considerable progress in the provinces." These were the Anabaptists who overran Friesland; the Calvinists who prevailed in the southern provinces, a numerous body composed of native converts, French Huguenots, and a countless number of sympathisers from the Republic of Geneva, the Swiss cantons, and parts of Germany. The third party was composed of Lutherans, feeble enough as regards numbers, but influential by its connexion with many of the nobility. "These three religious denominations met together at Antwerp, where the crowded population concealed them. They had nothing in common, except an equally inextinguishable hatred of popery, of the Inquisition in particular, and of the Spanish government, whose instrument it was."

For a time the sectarians were treated by the government with much lenity, although they had allied themselves with its avowed enemies, the poli-

* The private interpretation of the Bible, *i. e.*, the new heresies.

tical faction known under the name of "Gueux." "This forbearance of the government, combined with the brilliant representations of the "Gueux" lured from their obscurity the Protestants, who, however, had now grown too powerful to be any longer concealed. Hitherto they had contented themselves with secret assemblies by night; now they thought themselves numerous and formidable enough to venture to these meetings openly and publicly. This license commenced somewhere between Oudenarde and Ghent, and soon spread through the rest of Flanders. A certain Hermann Stricker, formerly a monk, a daring enthusiast, of able mind, imposing figure and ready tongue,* was the first who collected the people for a sermon in the open air. The novelty of the thing gathered together a crowd of about seven thousand persons, which the efforts of a neighbouring magistrate were unable to disperse."

"In the vicinity of Aalst, they assembled again in still greater numbers; but on this occasion they provided themselves with rapiers, fire-arms, halberds; placed sentries at all the approaches, which they also barricaded with carts and carriages. All passers by were obliged, whether willing or otherwise, to take part in the religious service, and to enforce this object, look-out parties were posted at certain distances round the place of meeting. At the entrance, booksellers stationed themselves, offering for sale Protestant catechisms, religious tracts, and pasquinades on the bishops. The preacher, Hermann Stricker, held forth from a pulpit which was hastily constructed for the occasion out of carts and trunks of trees. A canvass-awning drawn over it protected him from the sun and the rain. The preacher's position was in the quarter of the wind that the

* This Hermann Stricker was the "Gavazzi" of those days.

people might not lose any part of his sermon, which consisted principally of revilings against popery. Here the sacraments were administered after the Calvinistic fashion, and water was procured from the nearest river to baptize infants without further ceremony, after the practice, it was pretended, of the earliest times of Christianity. Couples were also united in wedlock, and the marriage ties dissolved between others. To be present at this meeting, half the population of Ghent had left its gates. Their example was soon followed in other parts, and ere long spread over the whole of East Flanders."

"In like manner, Peter Dathen, another renegade monk, from Poperingen, stirred up West Flanders; as many as 15,000 persons at a time attended his preaching from the villages and hamlets. Their number made them bold, and they broke into the prisons, where some Anabaptists were reserved for martyrdom. In Tournay, the Protestants were excited to a similar pitch of daring by Ambrosius Ville, a French Calvinist.....The sectarians carried their audacity to such great lengths, as to require one of the churches within the town to be assigned to them; and when this was refused they entered into a league with Valenciennes and Antwerp, to obtain a regal recognition of their worship, after the example of the other towns, by *open force*.....While, however, no one would venture singly to commence the disturbance, they agreed simultaneously to make a beginning with public preaching.....Six thousand persons, men and women, poured forth from the town on an appointed day, on which the same thing happened in Tournay and Valenciennes. The place of meeting was closed in with a line of vehicles, firmly fastened together, and behind them armed men were secretly posted, with a view to protect the service from any surprise. Of the preachers, most of whom

were men of the very lowest class, some were Germans, some were Huguenots, and spoke the Walloon dialect. Some even of the citizens felt themselves called upon to take a part in the sacred work, now that on fears of the officers of justice alarmed them. Many were drawn to the spot by mere curiosity, to hear what kind of new and unheard of doctrines these foreign teachers, whose arrival had caused so much talk, would set forth. Others were attracted by the melody of the Psalms, which were sung in a French version, after the fashion of Geneva. A great many came to hear these sermons as so many amusing comedies: such was the buffoonery with which the pope, the fathers of the ecclesiastical Council of Trent, purgatory, and other dogmas of the ruling church was abused in them. And, in fact, the more extravagant was this abuse and ridicule, the more it tickled the ears of the lower orders and a loud clapping of hands, as in a theatre, rewarded the speaker, who had surpassed others in the wildness of his jokes and denunciations. These assemblies were several times repeated, and each day augmented the boldness of the sectarians, till at last they even ventured, after concluding the service to conduct their preachers home in triumph, with an escort of armed horsemen, and ostentatiously to brave the law."—See *Schillers Revolt of the Netherlands*, Chapt. on Public Preaching. Bohn's Ed.

No government could tolerate such proceedings. Measures, therefore, which, under the circumstances, could not be termed harsh, were taken to check the combined efforts of treason and heresy. But it was too late. The sectarians were too numerous and too powerful, and too well supported by their co-religionists in France, Switzerland, Germany, and England, to be coerced, or even to be restrained within the bounds of moderation.

In the year 1566, when the government was inclined to treat them with lenity, they broke out more furiously than ever, and indulged in such iconoclastic excesses as scarcely any country in Europe had hitherto witnessed.

Schiller's graphic pen can best describe the awful scenes to which we allude; his being a Protestant will satisfy the reader that the picture is not over-coloured.

"The commencement of the attack on images took place in West Flanders and Artois.....A frantic herd of artisans, boatmen, and peasants, mixed with prostitutes, beggars, vagabonds, and thieves, about three hundred in number, furnished with clubs, axes, hammers, ladders, and cords, (a few only were provided with swords or fire-arms,) cast themselves with fanatical fury, into the villages and hamlets near St. Omer, and breaking open the gates of such churches and cloisters as they find locked, overthrow every where the altars, break to pieces the images of the saints and trample them under foot. With their excitement increased by its indulgence, and reinforced by new comers, they press on, by the direct road, to Ypres, where they can count on the support of a strong body of Calvinists. Unopposed, they break into the cathedral, and mounting on ladders, they hammer to pieces the pictures, hew down with axes the pulpits and pews, despoil the altars of their ornaments, and steal the holy vessels. This example was quickly followed in Menin, Comines, Verrich, Lille, and Oudenard, in a few days the same fury spreads through the whole of Flanders."....

They took forcible possession of the cathedral at Antwerp, and were chaunting a psalm, "while as they were yet singing, they all, at a given signal, rushed furiously upon the image of the Virgin, piercing it with swords and daggers, and striking off

its head. Thieves and prostitutes tore the great wax-lights from the altar, and lighted them to the work. The beautiful organ of the church, a masterpiece of the art of that period, was broken to pieces, all the paintings were effaced, the statues smashed to atoms. A crucifix, the size of life, which was set up between the two thieves opposite the high altar, an ancient and highly valuable piece of workmanship, was pulled to the ground with cords, and cut to pieces with axes, while the two malefactors at its side were respectfully spared.* The holy wafers (the adorable Sacrament) were strewed on the ground and trodden under foot; in the wine used for the Lord's Supper, which was accidentally found there, the health of the Gueux was drunk, while with the holy oil they rubbed their shoes. The very tombs were opened, and the half-decayed corpses torn up and trampled on.".....

"The devastation of the cathedral did not content them. With torches and tapers purloined from it, they set out at midnight to perform a similar work of havoc on the remaining churches, cloisters, and chapels. The destructive hordes increased with every fresh exploit of infamy, and thieves were allured by the opportunity. They carried away whatever they found of value, the consecrated vessels, altar-cloths, money, and vestments. In the cellars of the cloisters they drank to intoxication. To escape greater indignities, the monks and nuns abandoned every thing to them. The confused noises of these riotous acts had startled the citizens from their first sleep; but night made the danger appear more alarming than it really was.....The rising sun at length revealed the devastation which

* The sparing of the "malefactors" by the Reformers, shows to which side the sympathies of the parties leaned: it has been truly said: "a fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind."

had been going on during the night ; but the havoc did not terminate with the darkness. Some churches and cloisters still remained uninjured. The same fate soon overtook them also. The work of destruction lasted three whole days."

"The injury inflicted by this work of devastation was incalculable. In the church of the Virgin, it was estimated at not less than four hundred thousand gold florins. Many precious works of art were destroyed ; many valuable manuscripts. Many monuments of importance to history and to diplomacy were thereby lost. The city magistrate ordered the plundered articles to be restored on pain of death. In enforcing this restitution, he was effectually assisted by the preachers of the Reformers, who blushed for their followers. Much was in this manner recovered.....and the ringleaders of the mob resolved for the future to guard against these excesses, and to make their attacks in regular bands and in better order."

The town of Ghent saved itself from the horrors which befel Antwerp, by concealing its sacred vessels and rich church furniture, closing its churches, and for a time discontinuing the performance of divine service.

"In Tournay, the churches were despoiled of their ornaments within sight of the garrison, who could not be induced to march against the Iconoclasts.Other Iconoclasts from Valenciennes united themselves with those of Tournay, to despoil all the cloisters of the surrounding district, during which a valuable library, the accumulation of centuries, was destroyed by fire. The evil soon penetrated into Brabant, also Malines, Herzogenbusch, Breda, and Bergen-op-Zoom, experienced the same fate.....In the short period of four or five days, four hundred cloisters were plundered in Brabant and Flanders alone.

The Northern Netherlands were soon seized with the same mania which had raged so violently through the Southern. The Dutch towns, Amsterdam, Leyden, Gravanhaag, had the alternatives of either voluntarily stripping their churches of their ornaments, or of seeing them violently torn from them. The determination of their magistrates saved Delft, Haarlem, Gouda, and Rotterdam, from the devastation. The same acts of violence were practised also in the islands of Zeeland. The town of Utrecht, and many places in Overysse and Gröningen suffered the same storms."....*Schiller's Revolt of the Netherlands*, Book IV.—The Iconoclasts.

Such was the first appearance of the Reformation in the Low Countries. No wonder if it did not ultimately succeed in that fine and highly-civilized portion of Europe. Its enormous excesses proved an invincible obstacle to its taking firm root. No where more conspicuously than in the Netherlands, did the Reformers display the ignoble arts with which they were so familiar. They every where sympathized with rebellion, and under its wing they slipped into the heart of unwary countries, where they never ceased to struggle until they had acquired the ascendancy. Holland furnished no exception to this rule; and well and truly did Grotius, one of its most enlightened sons and ablest statesmen, affirm with mingled feelings of sorrow and shame that in his country the Reformation had been productive of violence, treason, and rebellion.—*Appen. de Anti-christo*. The mournful events which there marked its commencement—the horrible wars which the various Protestant sects waged with the Catholics and with one another—the follies, crimes, and impious cruelties of the Munster Anabaptists—the frightful punishments which other Protestants inflicted on that branch of the family, were truly

appalling—were enough to disgust all who had any claim to the feelings of humanity, with a system connected with, and productive of such horrors, and which every where, in its progress among nations presented the same revolting features, viz., a hatred for existing institutions and a thirst for change which nought save torrents of blood could assuage.

And, now, having traced as speedily as we could, the footsteps of the Reformers into the principal countries of the continent, and proved, what we purposed to prove, that their course was every where marked by violence, bloodshed, and desolating wars, we might here stop and reflect on the scenes characteristic of the new faith, and of its reception in these our own homes, once so faithful to the See of Rome, and styled of old, for the exemplary piety of their inhabitants, the island of saints. But this is not necessary, and would needlessly retard our progress. We write for thinking men who have read the history of their country, and who, while perusing that portion of it which records the events connected with the introduction of the Reformed doctrines, must have viewed with sorrow the harsh, unjust, barbarous, and cruel measures to which it was necessary to have recourse, in order to uproot the olden faith and establish the new in its stead. We shall therefore only glance at these mournful events.

All who are any wise conversant with the history of Britain during the last three hundred years must be aware of the misery inflicted on thousands and tens of thousands of our ancestors by the change of religion in the sixteenth century. A change so great and so important could not be brought about without the effusion of many tears and the shedding of much blood. In England, the Reformation was the work of a royal tyrant, a monster of lust and cruelty, and it naturally bore the mark of his bloody hand. For

a century and a half after the revolution in faith had taken place, the country was evermore or less a prey to religious convulsion, rebellion, civil war, and those countless evils which deprived South Britain of its old, honest and cherished name of "Merry England." In Scotland, where the Reformation was established in opposition to the wish of the sovereign, its course was still more rapid, tumultuous, bloody, and in every sense more unsatisfactory than in England. In this latter country it ruined some churches, tore down monasteries, squandered, to a great extent, the patrimony of the church and the portion of the poor, indulged in civil broils, and overturned for a time the royal authority on which it was built, shedding the blood of one of its chief ornaments—its spiritual and temporal head on earth—King Charles I., whom it led to the scaffold. But in the former it made greater havoc still. It levelled with the ground, we may say, all the churches, all the monasteries, confiscated nearly all the ecclesiastical property, rudely overturned the throne of the loveliest queen that ever swayed a sceptre, and drove her in despair to seek refuge in the dominions of a kindred queen, whose hands were afterwards imbrued in her royal and innocent blood. It destroyed a church of long standing, which had civilized a rude, barbarous, and warlike people. It degraded into a province of England an ancient kingdom, which, to the astonishment of Europe, had for long preserved its independence despite the glitter of English gold, and the cunning of English statesmen, and the superior discipline of English chivalry.

In no country in Europe was the change of religion more felt as an unmitigated evil than in Scotland, because in no country in Europe was the change

so sweeping and so complete. Our ancestors, to the fourth and fifth generations, after that event took place, were amongst the most miserable, poor, and degraded of European communities having any claim to civilization. Not to speak of its subjugation by Cromwell and his armed enthusiasts, their whole country was again and again overrun by hostile armies composed of its own bravest sons, quarrelling in the name of a common creed, which each party would understand as it pleased himself best, and more anxious to shed each other's blood in illustration of an obscure text, than their brave ancestors had been to shed the blood of the southern invaders who had come to enslave their country.

This state of disunion, discord, and civil strife, might have been indefinitely prolonged both in South and North Britain, had not the religious fervour of the nation cooled down, and had not its attention been strongly turned to secular pursuits. Protestants became weary of suffering and of inflicting persecution: they began to tolerate one another, and to press less heavily even on the Catholics. These latter had been long laid prostrate, and their property, both secular and religious, had passed into the hands of their enemies: there was, therefore, no pretext for further tormenting them. Under these circumstances Great Britain devoted to pursuits of gain, sank, in the course of a not very lengthened period, into a deplorable state of religious indifference, while by her wealth and prowess she rose into high rank among nations. As an evidence of the religious apathy prevalent in England about the middle of the last century, I may refer to the words of Voltaire. They are quoted, without qualification, by one bishop of the English church, corresponding

with one another. The French philosopher speaking of the political parties in England says: "The Tories were obliged to have recourse to religion: of this there is now (1766) in Great Britain only as much as is necessary to distinguish the various factions."—(*Warburton's Letters to Hurd*, p. 465.) Such was the state of religion in England and Scotland about two centuries only after the heat of the Reformation had cooled down! Here, as every where else, it fought its way to ascendancy by utterly, ruthlessly, and in a most unscriptural and unchristian manner, destroying all that opposed its progress, neither seeking repose itself nor suffering aught else to rest until by all means lawful and unlawful it had made itself master of every thing both in church and state.

We cannot conclude these brief remarks relative to the violent introduction of the Reformation into Great Britain, without adverting to the miseries consequent on that sad event, which to this day continue to afflict unhappy Ireland. Ireland has ever rejected the Reformed doctrines; but her exemption from these heresies has been purchased at an enormous price. Put together all the sorrows and sufferings, the plunderings, pillagings, confiscations, the sacrileges, murders, and massacres, which from one end of Europe to the other have disgraced the new religion; suppose them all to have been united, as by some magic power, and poured out as from a vial full of divine wrath on one devoted people cooped up in a small island of the ocean. Picture something of this kind to yourself, and then you may have some faint idea of what the Reformation has cost Ireland. Ireland would not receive the new religion: no power on earth could sever Ireland from the faith once implanted in its tenacious soil by the

great St. Patrick ; and England, on the other hand, would compel that island to change its creed as she had changed her own, at the bidding of a cruel and voluptuous tyrant : hence those struggles on the part of the Irish to reject what the English were so anxious to force upon them : hence those parties and factions, those tumults and contentions, and interminable wars, that conquering and reconquering, those inhuman penal laws enacted against Ireland, and so cruelly enforced,—laws, characterised by one of Ireland's greatest sons, as the very perfection of bad legislation : hence that hunger, poverty, degradation, and proverbial misery, resulting from the perverse efforts of a Protestant government to proselytize a Catholic people. Yes ; Ireland owes most of its past wrongs and its present sufferings to its unshaken fidelity to the Catholic faith. By Protestantism has all the mischief been done. Heaven be thanked, its power, ever for evil, has now in a great measure passed away : England despairs of converting Ireland, and must soon cease to harass it—it will henceforth be suffered to enjoy repose, and, like a bleeding warrior returning from a well fought field, it will be permitted to bind up its wounds and recover its lost strength and wasted energies.

As faithfully as we could, though briefly, we have traced the bloody steps of the Reformation into and through the principal countries of Europe : its progress has every where been uniformly the same ; it every where either caused strife, or took advantage of existing troubles to make its way. It nowhere owed its advance to purely religious or disinterested motives : in Germany, its friends and promoters enlisted in its cause for the sake of the spoils of the Catholic church, which it promised to them, and

which it gave them. In Sweden, its royal apostle seized and transferred into his own coffers the whole ecclesiastical wealth of the kingdom. In England, King Henry VIII. discerned the beauties of the new creed, not by the light of the gospel, but, as the poet has it, by that, to him more brilliant light "which beamed from Boleyn's eyes." He sacrificed his own conscientious feelings, his creed, his soul, and his body, and the conscience, the feelings, the souls and bodies of his subjects to his love for a worthless woman. The ancient church of Scotland fell a prey to the rapacity of a poor and proud nobility. Every where, indeed, the worst passions paved the way for the new religion, and they form the basis on which it yet stands. We shall see by and bye, that as these passions had been gratified and had cooled down it sank, and is still sinking into that abyss in which all heresy is at last engulfed—Infidelity.

In further proof of what we have said relative to heresy, either creating civil commotions or profiting by them to introduce itself into an orthodox land, we may point triumphantly to the conduct of the Biblical Societies: it proves all we have said in this regard, and a great deal more. We know what efforts these societies made during the late civil wars in Spain to diffuse through the country their heretical poison wrapped up in the leaves of the Bible. We heard them boasting, during the troubles which convulsed the continent in 1848 and 1849, that now the time was come when they could, without let or hindrance, preach the truth and expound the Bible and enable the people to read the Scriptures in Vienna and even in Rome itself. We ourselves, not many months ago, listened for more than an hour to

the ravings of a Free Kirk divine, of some celebrity, while prophetically announcing to the people of Edinburgh the speedy fall of Papal Rome and its ancient creed, because, forsooth, the Protestant Bible and Mazziniism had entered together within the walls of the Eternal City, and had, with one accord, set about the great work of Reforming the Papal church and state. He expatiated on the necessity of pouring Bibles without number into the Roman territories while all was in confusion there. He knew, and he told his audience that, as soon as order would be restored, and the popular phrenzy would have passed away, his heretical Bibles, the "dangerous commodity" of Schiller, would be at a discount in Italy. Therefore he would have his friends to be up and active, to work incessantly during the dark night of social revolution, well aware that the most favourable time for disseminating religious errors among a people is when that people is being led away by political delusions. A clear proof that the divine we allude to and his friends were not true apostles—were not doing the work of God but of men—were hirelings and not true shepherds is found in the fact that they did not seek to enter the sheepfold by the door; they clambered over the walls; they forced themselves in by the window, and the object of their intrusion was not to feed the flocks but to slay them.

Nor should any one be astonished at what we have said of the first years and early progress of the Reformation. Violence, rebellion, and bloodshed, have ever been characteristic of heresy. This he will easily conceive who considers what heresy is—a revolt of the mind and of the heart against revealed truth and the authority of the church commissioned to teach it. The authors and abettors of heresy are

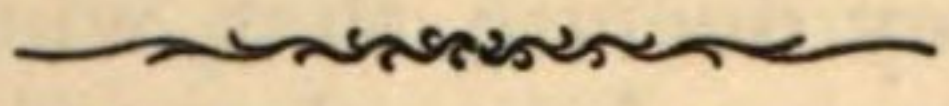
described by St. Paul as men "lovers of themselves, covetous, haughty....disobedient to parents....without peace....traitors, stubborn, puffed up and lovers of pleasures more than of God:" 2 Tim. iii. 3, 4.) Now, these characteristics are eminently and painfully apparent in the Reformers of the sixteenth century. They were "covetous men;" they yearned for the spoils of the church and the portion of the poor: they were "lovers of themselves;" they laid waste whole kingdoms to gratify their own passions; they were "traitors" and rebels; nobles and princes revolted against the sovereign, and the peasants rose up against the princes and nobility; each endeavoured to throw off the yoke that galled his own neck, regardless of the consequences of general insubordination: they "loved their pleasures more than their God;" to wallow in foul delights, many of them broke their solemn vows, others, like the uxorious Landgrave of Hesse, and Henry of England, multiplied their wives in proportion as unlimited gratification multiplied their wanton desires.

In all these horrible features, such as we have described them, after the apostle, modern heresy strictly resembles its prototypes of old. St. Austin expatiates, on more than one occasion, on the seditious and treasonable conduct of the Donatists in Africa. The Arians disturbed, for many years, the peace of the Eastern world. The Iconoclastic heresy shed torrents of blood, and, for three quarters of a century, kept the church in a state of combustion. During the middle ages Manicheism, called from its ignoble grave by the Albigenses and other sectaries in the south of France, had well nigh triumphed over both church and state in that unfortunate country.

The Hussites, the worthy predecessors of the Lutherans and Calvinists, drew down on their guilty heads the punishment which their insane rebellion deserved at the hands of a firm government. The contests into which they entered with their fellow-countrymen were but a prelude to those more dreadful civil conflicts in which all Europe was, in due time, to take a part. "In Bohemia" says Schiller, "a century before the days of Luther, the first spark of the religious war had been kindled; a century after Luther, the first flames of the 'thirty years' war' burst out in Bohemia. The sect which owed its rise to John Huss still existed in that country."—(Thirty Years' War, p. 24.) Protestants are fond of claiming kindred with the Hussites: they look upon Huss as one of their early Reformers—one of their father-founders, and, we must say that, between that man and more recent Reformers, there is this family likeness,—they both delighted in civil broils—the children inherited from the worthy sire his principles of lawless insubordination. But truth compels us to say that neither parent nor child, much as they read their Bible, and clearly as they pretended to understand it, ever read, or understood, or applied to themselves that admonition of the apostle: "Be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward:"—(1 Peter ii. 18.) So true is this with regard to the Protestants of Germany, that Schiller, their most able advocate, admits that, in their wars with Charles V., "political justice was on the side of the Emperor."—(Revolt of the Netherlands, p. 382. Bohn.) That is, that the authors and abettors of modern heresy engaged for its sake, in wars equally cruel and unjust. This is precisely what we wished

to prove against the Reformation, and we flatter ourselves we have fully and fairly accomplished our task.*

* Solyman II., one of the greatest geniuses of any age and of any country, saw and pointed out to the Queen of Hungary, widow of John Zapol, the sad effects produced by the Reformation in Germany. He besought her as a friend, not to suffer the new creed to be introduced into her kingdom, as it would inevitably upset her throne and ruin her kingdom: he called her attention to the seditions, the massacres, the civil wars which, at that very time, were in consequence of it, laying waste the finest provinces of Germany; and he frankly declared to her that if she did not oppose the new and dangerous doctrines, which were rapidly gaining ground, he would withdraw his protection from her and declare himself her enemy.—*Berault Bercastel, Histoire de l'Eglise, Tom. XVIII. liv. 64.*



CHAPTER IV.

THE REFORMATION HOSTILE TO LITERATURE, TO THE
ARTS AND SCIENCES.

OUR third charge against the Reformation is one which will astonish not a few: We maintain that it was hostile to letters and that its success, where it did succeed, proved seriously injurious to the arts and sciences.

Many Protestants are willing to admit that their mode of teaching Christianity—the private interpretation of the Bible, was not, indeed, introduced into the world without much violence and bloodshed; that it did not, and could not supersede the old and long-established system without a severe struggle; but, they allege, that such were the grand results which followed it, such the invaluable boon which it conferred on society, that its blessings could not be purchased at too high a price. To it they fondly attribute the superior light which shines on modern Europe; and they declare that, while the Catholic plan of instruction enslaves the mind, and keeps it involved in darkness and superstition, Protestantism, on the contrary, communicates to it the pure word of revelation, sets it free, and diffuses around it light and knowledge, such as were never derived from any other source. Protestant countries, they allege, are more enlightened than Catholic countries, and to this supposed superior enlightenment they exultingly point as a proof of the superiority of their creed.

This, of course, in our opinion, is all delusion and error—we do not admit the alleged fact; and, were we even compelled to admit its existence, we could easily account for it on other grounds than those referred to by Protestants. We deny that, as a whole, and consideration being had to various times and places, Protestant countries are more enlightened than Catholic countries, and we further assert that, what truly valuable light and knowledge they do enjoy, they owe it not to Protestantism.

To establish this position we must enter into some details, and take a retrospective glance at the state of learning in Europe during the ages immediately preceding the Reformation. But first we may indulge in a few preliminary remarks.

In the republic of letters, as in other republics, there is a time of progress and a time of decline and decay. Nations have their golden ages of literature, which generally correspond with the period when their empire is most extensive, and their internal prosperity at its culminating height. This is an observation which may apply to all nations, ancient and modern. And, if we look into the history of Europe, we will find that in an especial manner does it apply to the various nations that have arisen from the ruins of the Roman empire. Each of these nations has had its season of prosperity—its golden age: that is, that at some given time, each of them has excelled in literature, in arms, in commerce, and in the arts of civilization. For some of these nations this golden age has long gone by: others are just emerging from it, and some are, perhaps, even now in full possession of its blessings.

We fear that, with regard to some of the great Catholic states of Europe, we may consider the happy age we allude to as having already passed away. Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Poland, and, perhaps, some

other countries we might mention, have seen their golden age, and must be content to hold, at least for a time, a less distinguished place among nations than they once did: whereas Prussia, Russia, and, we may add, the United States of America, having started later into political existence, or having entered at a later period into the path of improvement, are still advancing in that path without having yet reached the turning point,—the *ne plus ultra* of prosperity, when they, like other powers, must hear the fatal words “hitherto shalt thou proceed and no further.” Nor, is it merely the Catholic nations of Europe that, after a period of prosperity, have been doomed to decline. Several Protestant states are sharing the same fate. The present kingdom of Holland is less powerful than was the Dutch republic in the days of Louis XIV. Sweden and Denmark have lost much of the importance they once enjoyed, and the former of these countries cannot now, as of yore, send forth a Gustavus or a Charles XII. to shake the imperial thrones of Austria and Russia.

Indeed the state and condition of a nation, its prosperous or adverse fortunes, do not always and necessarily depend on its religion. It may even change its creed without itself undergoing any very remarkable change. It is clear, also, that the successful cultivation of the arts and sciences, and general literature, that trade and commerce, and much that concerns this life and its interests, are not dependent on the knowledge and profession of the true religion. Greece, Carthage, and Rome, attained to high perfection in the arts and sciences, and reached, in turns, the summit of human greatness, while they adored false gods, whereas, at a later period, the adoption of the Christian creed did not restore to the city of the Cæsars its lost empire, or defend it from the sword of the heathen barbarians.

A careful perusal of ancient and modern history : a competent degree of attention to the circumstances attending the rise and fall of empires, will show how unreasonable it is to make Catholicism accountable for the present or past condition of some Catholic countries, for their success in trade, or for the more or less taste which they may have displayed in the arts and sciences. We humbly submit that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, nor is success in worldly affairs a convincing proof that we belong to Him. If, therefore, it should so happen, as indeed it may, that at a given time, some Protestant nations enjoyed a larger portion of the good things of the earth than certain Catholic nations, such temporal prosperity should not be attributed to any superiority in the Protestant faith ; because, were the time of prosperity to pass by, then Protestants would be obliged to believe that the truth and superiority of their creed had vanished along with it. So much for making, as the friends of the Reformation often make, extensive empire, worldly greatness, wealth and other earthly advantages the test of true religion.

Having made these preliminary remarks, which, we think will help to throw much light on the sequel, we now proceed to show that Protestantism, instead of advancing, did really retard the progress of learning in the sixteenth century.

1. We deny, in the first place, that, as a whole, Protestant nations ever have been, or are now, in the arts and sciences and in general enlightenment, superior to Catholic nations. Let any man of common sense, and but even moderately acquainted with literature, go into any of our great public libraries, that, for instance, of the British Museum, that of Berlin, of St. Petersburg, of Vienna, or of Paris, or of Rome, or, indeed, of any great con-

tinental city, and let him examine the contents of these noble institutions. Do you imagine that he will find that the greatest, or most valuable portion of the books collected and arranged there were written by Protestants? Were the writings of Catholic authors to be removed, do you think one would not soon perceive a sad change, and regret a notable diminution of goodly folios and quartos? Burn all the books written by Catholics since the dawn of the Reformation, and royal and imperial libraries will be robbed of half their treasures, and three centuries would elapse ere the damage done by the flames could be repaired.

We may illustrate the same truth in another way. Sismondi in France, and our own Hallam in England, have written at considerable length on the literature of modern Europe; now, Hallam derives the greatest and most valuable portion of the information contained in his excellent book from Catholic writers. His work and that of Sismondi are compiled chiefly from materials collected by the industrious hand of three learned disciples of the olden creed—Tiraboschi, Father Andres, and Father Nicéron. This illustrious triumvirate, in which there is no Lepidus, had preceded Hallam and Sismondi, and prepared materials for these writers. We do not deny their obligations to Bruker, Bouterwek, and other authors of various religious persuasions; but still it is a fact that, for the substantial part both of the subject on which they write, and the materials from which they write, they have been obliged to glean in the wide and fertile fields of Catholicism. Or, we may say, in simpler and plainer terms, that the works we allude to, of both Hallam and Sismondi, are devoted chiefly to the examination and illustration of books written by Catholics. The great authors of Italy, Spain, and

Catholic France, occupy more of their pages than the contemporary, or even more recent authors of the Protestant portions of Europe. Could this be the case, if, as it is often affirmed, Protestantism had contributed more than Catholicism to the stores of literature during the time which fall under the observation of Hallam and Sismondi? It is true, Sismondi professedly treats of the literature of Southern Europe, but we know he was guided in the choice of his subject by the fertility of the theme on which he intended to display his talents.

2. We deny, in the second place, that Protestantism can claim any share in the great and glorious revival of letters. The revival of letters, the resuscitation of the arts and sciences, if due to any creed, must be set down to the credit of Catholicism. Of this we can offer our readers two irrefutable proofs: 1. The revival of learning was begun every where, and in many places far advanced ere Protestantism had started into existence; 2. Protestantism, at its birth, and during many years after that event, was decidedly hostile to literature and the fine arts, and we may add, to social progress.

We hope to establish our first position by glancing at the condition of literature in Europe, especially in Southern Europe, in the ages immediately preceding the Reformation.

During these ages the European mind was in a state of much activity and rapid transition. The arts and sciences, and learning in general, were making gigantic strides in the way of progress. This is especially true as spoken of the great Catholic nations of the south. In the first part of our essay, we had occasion to remark that, during the long night of darkness, in which the invasion of the barbarians had involved the Roman world, Italy herself continued to enjoy, and to shed around her

on other nations, some cheering rays of light. When the season of gloom had partially passed away, and better and more tranquil days had begun to dawn, Italy was the first to feel the loss of departed science, and the first also to take steps to repair that loss. With this view she built schools, she founded universities, and encouraged and rewarded, as she best could, her diligent scholars and her learned men. Spain, like Italy, endeavoured at an early period, to pour the light of science into the minds of her Gothic conquerors. She borrowed from Italy what we may consider the parochial system, and the church and the school rose together in almost every corner of the Peninsula. This good work began in the sixth century; with more or less interruption it continued to advance up to the very hour which ushered in the Reformation. Long before that period, the influence of Catholicism had subdued the barbarian conquerors, and, from that rude material, had formed the modern nations of Europe. This would have been effected by no other power than that of religion—of the Catholic religion, for, it is a fact that cannot be denied, that those portions only of the old Roman world, which remained faithful to the See of Rome, ever shook off the barbarian yoke and were restored to the blessings of civilization. Hence while Africa and the East have remained subject to the tyranny of every successive horde of Saracenic and Turkish Moslem conquerors, and are even now sunk in helpless and increasing ignorance, the various Gothic, Saxon, and Scandinavian tribes of Europe, yielding to the influence of the Roman pontiffs, have become greater and more learned than were of old the warriors of Rome, or the sages of Greece. But we must now proceed to show that, previous to the Reformation, learning was far advanced among Catholic nations: and we

may observe, as we go along, that the nearer the various nations we allude to were to Rome and its pontiffs, the further they had advanced in knowledge and civilization. We may begin by Italy itself, the seat of the papacy and the centre of Catholicism.

Italy, ever since the period which witnessed the fall of her empire to this almost in which we live, has been superior to other nations in a literary and scientific point of view. On her shores the light of ancient learning lingered longer, and the torch of modern knowledge was kindled earlier than any where else. Indeed, Italy was never doomed to that fatal and almost total eclipse which obscured the greatest portion of the civilized world on the invasion of the barbarians and the subversion of the Roman domination. The long line of Italian scholars was never wholly broken ; no age, from that of Cicero to our own, was totally ignorant of that great orator's language or incapable of appreciating its beauties. The classics of the Augustan age were ever in repute. They were studied with more or less assiduity as rude and troublous times permitted men of taste to indulge in the pleasures of the mind. Under the wing of the church and within the hallowed precincts of the sanctuary, the sacred lamp of religious knowledge was ever kept burning, and it diffused around, on the arts and sciences connected with religion, a gleam of light which prevented the world from sinking into primeval darkness. The church, when nought else could achieve it, saved the last wreck of Greek and Roman lore, and from the weak and flickering rays which, during so many centuries, she watched over with scrupulous care, an ungrateful world has derived those streams of light which it so often boasts of and abuses.

For a period of five centuries after the fall of the Roman empire, the state of ignorance consequent

on that event, was, notwithstanding all the efforts of the church, lamentably great. Dating, however, from the time of Charlemagne, symptoms of a revival of learning were perceptible on both sides of the Alps, but more especially on the Italian side. All historians are agreed that this better and more hopeful state of things was due to the happy influence of the church. Hence, we find letters reviving first there where the action of the church was more immediately felt—that is in Italy, and in those parts of the world whither the Roman pontiffs had sent bishops and priests to instruct the ignorant natives. Thus England was partly preserved and partly rescued from the “dominant ignorance” by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his companions, holy men and well acquainted with the Greek and Latin languages, who, in 668, had been sent by the pope to instruct the British nation and rule their church.

From the eighth to the twelfth century, the church struggled with success against the vices of the age, and the barbarism superinduced by the invasion of the northern tribes: by the beginning of the last mentioned period her complete triumph was fast approaching. “From this time,” says Hallam, “we may deduce a line of men, conspicuous, according to the standard of their times, in different walks of intellectual pursuit, and the commencement of an interesting period—the later middle-ages.”—(Lit. of Euro., Vol. I., p. 11.) This happy change the learned author attributes, with much justice, to four causes:—1st. The institution of universities, and the methods pursued in them; 2d. The cultivation of modern languages; 3d. The investigation of the Roman law; and 4th. The return to the study of the Latin language in its ancient models of purity.

Now, if, as we presume, we may trace to these

causes the revival of learning, and the blessings of improved civilization, we never can be too grateful to the church: for she it was who established universities, who first cultivated modern languages, who studied Roman law in connexion with canon law, and who, teaching pure doctrines, sought, by studying the ancient models to propound those doctrines in the purest style of the Augustan age.

From the twelfth century to the fifteenth the fortunes of literature, owing to various circumstances and troublous times, were wonderfully chequered, and different in different countries. On the whole, however, evident progress was being made towards a comparatively enlightened state of society wherever Catholicism was predominant, and, during the entire period we refer to, many eminent men—men of first rate genius, made their appearance and benefited the community by their light and labours.

The beginning of the fifteenth century is set down by Hallam and others, as the “proper era of the revival of letters.” Be it so: only let it be remembered that this revival is due, *not* to the Reformation, which dates a full century later; but to the Catholic church. That cannot be the offspring of the Reformation which existed a full hundred years and more before the Reformation itself. The Catholic church, on the contrary, was of ancient date—she saw the downfall of learning—she saw Roman literature buried under the ashes of the Roman Empire, and it was her noble destiny to evoke from the tomb in which they lay together, a nobler, a better, and a more lasting literature—that which Christian Europe now enjoys.

Our literary obligations to Italy and the church are willingly acknowledged by Hallam: “It may be said with some truth,” says he, “that Italy supplied the fire from which other nations in this first, as

afterwards in the second era of the revival of letters, lighted their own torches. Lanfranc, Anselm, Peter Lombard, the founder of systematic theology in the twelfth century, Irnerius, the restorer of jurisprudence, Gratian, the author of the first compilation of canon law: the school that guided medical art in all countries, the first dictionaries of the Latin tongue, the first treatise of Algebra, the first great work that makes an epoch in anatomy, are as truly and as exclusively the boast of Italy as the restoration of Greek literature and of classical taste in the fifteenth century."—(*Ib.*, Vol. I., p. 69.) We may add, that, in the study of natural history, Italy preceded other European countries.*

It is worthy of remark, that once fairly on the road to improved knowledge, Italy, under the steady influence of the church, never lost one inch of ground. Hallam regrets the retrograde condition of letters too visible in France, Germany, and England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but perceptible only in "Cisalpine Europe." Beyond the Alps the progress of literature may have been, as Tiraboschi admits, sometimes more or less slow, but some progress was ever being made.

So true is all this, so just are the claims of Italy to be considered the great teacher of modern nations, that the learned author whom we have already so often quoted, after candidly and carefully reviewing the whole history of the revival of learning, sums up and concludes with these remarkable words:

* A bigoted tourist of the earlier part of this century tells us, that "the Cabinet or Museum of Manfredo Settala, an ingenious Milanese, much celebrated for his learning, and who was *the first person in Europe* who formed an extensive collection in natural history, antiquities, machinery, and experimental philosophy, is still in the Ambrosian Library."—*Lemaistre's Travels through Italy, etc.*, Vol. I., p. 255.

“We have thus traced in outline the form of European literature as it existed in the middle ages, and in the first forty years of the fifteenth century. The result must be to convince us of our great obligations to Italy for her renewal of classical learning.” This is precisely what we contend for—Hallam’s candour concedes it all and goes even further; it prompts him to chide, in becoming terms, ungrateful men, who refuse to Italy and the church their meed of praise—who enjoy the gift without acknowledging the giver. “It would be difficult,” he observes, “to find any man of high reputation, in modern times, who has not reaped benefit directly, or through others, from the revival of ancient learning. We have the greatest reason to doubt whether, without the Italians of these ages, it would ever have occurred.”—(*Ib.*, p. 124). This is candid, clear and precise, and needs no commentary.

To Italy, then, and to the church we owe the restoration of letters—the triumph of mind over matter—as complete a victory on the part of Christianity over barbarian ignorance in latter times, as over Greek and Roman idolatry at an earlier period. And so successful had the church been in this great work that, at the commencement of the Reformation, and for more than a century previous to that disastrous event, Europe was teeming with learned men, and the arts and sciences were every where honoured, and, in many countries, cultivated with care. Italy itself, at the times we allude to, could boast of many eminent men, learned in every art and skilled in every science—of historians, poets, painters, sculptors, and architects, who have never yet been surpassed in any age or country. Tasso, Ariosto, Guicciardini, Raphael, and Michael-Angelo flourished, and acquired for their country immortal fame, ere the German monk had raised the standard

of revolt. Let any candid man read, not Catholic authors merely, but, if he chooses, Protestant writers who have made the Italy of the fourteenth century their theme, and he will soon be convinced that, previous to the Reformation, the public mind was wide awake to the advantages of learning, and that there was no lack of learned men on the southern side of the Alps at least. Indeed the love of letters was the ruling passion of the age; and, under the very pontiff, who witnessed the dawn of the Reformation, that passion was indulged in to, perhaps, a criminal degree. The Pontiff himself, Leo X., has not escaped censure in this regard; and, strange to say, they who accuse his church of fostering ignorance, upbraid him with an excessive love of learning.

One thing, at least, is certain, literature was restored to its pristine honours in Italy many a long year before the birth of Luther of Wittemburg.

Nor, as we have already hinted, was this glorious restoration of letters confined to the Italian Peninsula. The annals of Spain bear witness that there too, the public mind was in full activity, and had undergone material improvement previous to the German revolt against the See of Rome.

Catholic Spain, so early as the sixth century, gave strong proof of her love of letters; even then she had numerous schools, as we have already seen, and many distinguished scholars: her learned priests and bishops triumphed, within a moderately short time, over the Arian Goths, who conquered their country, and led them within the pale of the Catholic church. This conversion of a whole nation of haughty warriors, flushed with victory, and full of that self-conceit—the parent at once and the offspring of heresy, speaks volumes in favour of the learning and piety of the early Catholic church of Spain.

We have not room to trace here the chequered fortunes of letters in Spain, from the times we refer to until the epoch of the Reformation: suffice it to say that, during that lengthened period, Spain was ever Catholic, and ever the friend, as far as times would permit, of literature and of art. When, at last, the Reformation came, it did not find the Spanish church or the Spanish nation sunk, as most people imagine, in apathy and ignorance—quite the reverse: Spain, as well as the south of Europe, in general, was, during the fifteenth century, in a state of uncommon activity and rapidly advancing in the arts and elegancies of social life.—(*Prescott's Fer. and Isab.*, Vol. II., p. 96, *which see.*)

The sovereigns of Spain were among the first in modern Europe to establish and enrich public libraries. Prescott commemorates in highly eulogistic terms the zeal of John the Second of Castille, and of his celebrated daughter Isabella, “for the collecting of books.” She “endowed the convent of St. Juan de los Reyes, at Toledo, at the time of its foundation, 1477, with a library, consisting principally of manuscripts. The archives of Simancas contain catalogues of part of two separate collections belonging to her, whose broken remains have contributed to swell the magnificent library of the Escorial. Most of them are in manuscript; the richly-coloured and highly-decorated binding of these volumes (an art which the Spaniards derived from the Arabs) shows how highly they were prized, and the worn and battered condition of some of them proves that they were not kept merely for show.”—*Ib.*, Vol. II., p. 163.

Nearly a century after the death of Isabella, and at a period when Spain may be said to have attained its meridian splendour, and when, perhaps, its golden age was already on the wane, Philip II., an

enthusiastic patron of learning, founded the library of the Escorial, saving neither trouble nor expense to store its ample repositories with all that was most valuable in ancient and modern lore. We are told by Hallam that, so well was the world acquainted with the royal taste, and the anxiety of the prince to fill the countless shelves of his favourite library, "that all who courted the favour of Spain contributed by presents of rarities." Besides the Escorial, Spain could boast of other valuable libraries, such as that founded by Ximenes at Alcala, and the celebrated collection of books which graced the University of Salamanca.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 259.)

A love so ardent for books, and so much done to collect them, at a time when they were a rare commodity, and not easily obtained, evinces a considerable desire to acquire knowledge, and anything but that predilection for ignorance so frequently imputed to Spain. The truth is, books were comparatively plenty in that country, when in others they were scarce enough, and that the collected volumes were not intended for mere show, we may safely conclude with Prescott, "from the worn and battered condition of many of them."

The learned of Spain were not contented to collect the works of foreign authors and read them; they themselves added to the list of European literati many names imperishable as the language in which they wrote. In every department of literature and science they achieved triumphs and acquired renown, becoming not unfrequently the models of other nations less advanced than themselves. To the Spanish theatre the early stage of both France and England owes many obligations: the prodigious exuberance of the one proved to the other an exhaustless source from which the dramatic writers of both these countries have drawn some of their

noblest inspirations. Lope de Vega preceded Shakespeare and paved the way for Corneille. So it was in other branches of literature—in prose and verse; and we need only mention the name of Cervantes, to remind the reader how much we are indebted to Spain for the correct taste which has so long prevailed among a most numerous class of readers and writers—the readers and writers of works of fiction and imagination.

But it is needless to pursue this subject further. A slight acquaintance with the works of Bouterwek, Hallam, Sismondi, Schlegel, and especially the recent book of Mr. G. Ticknor on Spanish literature, will suffice to convince every mind open to conviction, that Spain has had her time of literary supremacy—a supremacy which, like that of her arms and of her empire, once almost boundless, has yielded to the influence of times and circumstances. It once did exist however. And all along she has reckoned eminent men among her sons second to none in Europe: even now Martinez de la Rosa, and others whom we could name, worthily sustain the literary character of Spain among the nations of Europe.

One thing at least is incontestable: the religious and ascetic writers of Spain stand yet unrivalled. Those who charge the Spanish church with the foul calumny of being hostile to learning should remember that she has done more for Christianity and the *Bible* than all the Protestant sects put together. She rescued the Peninsula first from Arian heresy, introduced by the Goths, and afterwards from Islamism, the religion of the Spanish Arabs: she published besides two* Polyglot Bibles

* We assign to Spain the glory of having published two Polyglot Bibles, viz., that of Alcala and that of Antwerp—the first we owe to one of Spain's greatest bishops, Ximenes: the

—prodigies of learning and labour, and one of the first books of the kind the world had ever beheld.

What we have said of the state of Spanish literature during the fifteenth century may apply also to that of the sister kingdom of Portugal during the same period. When that part of the Peninsula was astonishing Europe with its maritime discoveries, the extent of its colonial empire, its commercial enterprise, and military prowess, its scholars were far in advance of the generality of learned men in the northern latitudes. Perhaps the classic and golden age of Portugal may be supposed to correspond with the reign of Emmanuel, its wise and powerful king, who died in 1521. In this supposition, which cannot reasonably be called in question, we may safely say that the Reformation did nothing to enlighten the Portuguese or advance among them the cause of letters. The most brilliant period of their literature was almost coeval with the birth of the new religion.

The elegant historian to whom we are indebted for the history of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, completely bears us out in all we have said of the progress made by the southern nations in science and art, during the age immediately preceding the religious commotions of the sixteenth century: his words are remarkable, and we shall lay them before the reader—"The extraordinary intellectual activity of the Europeans in the fifteenth century, after the torpor of ages, carried them forward to high advancement in almost every department of science, but

second, to one of its greatest kings, Philip II. Speaking of the Ximenean Polyglot, Prescott calls it a "noble monument of piety, learning, and munificence, which entitles its author to the gratitude of the whole Christian world."—*Ferd. & Isab.*, Vol. III., p. 289.

especially nautical, whose surprising results have acquired for the age the glory of being designated as peculiarly that of maritime discovery."—*Fer. and Isab.*, Vol. II., c. v., p. 59.

Allusion of course is here made to the Portuguese discoveries in the East Indies, and those still more marvellous expeditions of Columbus and his brave companions to the New World. The age which produced Vasco de Gama and the illustrious individual whom we have just named, may rank with the most heroic times of Greece or Rome, and it preceded the Reformation!

But it was not merely on sea and in distant climes that Spain, and we may add Portugal too, were seen to put forth their energies and to acquire renown during the fifteenth century. At home they cultivated with success the arts and sciences and every branch of polite learning. Speaking of the condition of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, Prescott observes that, during the reign of these great sovereigns, "architecture was studied on purer principles than before, and with the sister arts of design, showed the influence of the new connexion with Italy" (Gonsalvo de Cordova had lately conquered the kingdom of Naples for the Spanish monarchs) "in the first gleams of that excellence which shed such lustre over the Spanish school at the close of the century. A still more decided impulse was given to letters; more printing presses were probably at work in Spain in the infancy of the art than at the present day. Ancient seminaries were remodelled, new ones were created; Barcelona, Salamanca, and Alcala, whose cloistered solitudes are now the graves rather than the nursery of science, then swarmed with thousands of disciples, who, under the generous patronage of the government, found letters the surest path to preferment.

Even the lighter branches of literature felt the revolutionary spirit of the times, and, after yielding the last fruits of the ancient system, displayed new and more beautiful varieties, under the influence of Italian culture."—*Ib.*, Vol. III., p. 435.

Not only was this age (the fifteenth century) great itself, it prepared the way for the succeeding century's becoming greater still. Hence, Prescott eloquently observes, "the glories of this latter period of this age of Charles V., as it is called, must find their true source in the measures of his illustrious predecessors. It was in their court that Boscan, Garcilasso, Mendoza, and the other master-spirits were trained, who moulded Castillian literature into the new and more classical forms of later times. It was under Gonsalvo de Cordova, that Leyva, Pescara, and those great captains with their invincible legions were formed, who enabled Charles V. to dictate laws to Europe for half a century. And it was Columbus who not only led the way but animated the Spanish navigator with the spirit of discovery. Scarcely was Ferdinand's reign brought to a close before Magellan (1520) completed what that monarch had projected, the circumnavigation of the southern continent; the victorious banners of Cortes had already (1518) penetrated into the golden realms of Montezuma; and Pizarro, a very few years later (1524), following up the lead of Balboa, embarked on the enterprise which ended in the downfall of the splendid dynasty of the Incas."

Such was Spain during the fifteenth century! No wonder if, as Prescott says, every Spaniard should "fix his eye on the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella as the most glorious epoch in the annals of his country."—Vol. III., p. 448. "But none of these glories are due to the Reformation—its

author was hardly yet born. Previous to the appearance of that boasted light which is supposed to have beamed on Europe from the face of the Reformation, France, as well as Italy and Spain, could number among her sons a long list of distinguished literary men. Her taste, and that of her favourite monarch Francis I., for letters and the kindred arts was well known over Europe. It was, as we have already seen, under pretext of gratifying this taste, that Luther smuggled some of his disciples, his books and his doctrines into the French capital and even into the University of Paris itself.

Francis was as liberal and impartial as he was successful in patronising the learned. He sought them every where, in all classes and professions, at home and abroad. He encouraged learning in the church by conferring rich benefices and vacant bishoprics on erudite ecclesiastics. "Poucher, the learned Bishop of Paris, he raised to the archiepiscopal dignity: on Petit, an humble priest of obscure parentage, but charitable and learned, he bestowed the episcopal sees of Troyes and Senlis. He sent Pelissier, Bishop of Magueline, a man of proverbial erudition and a devoted antiquarian, on an honourable embassy to Venice, whence the good prelate returned loaded with all kinds of manuscripts, Greek, Hebrew and Syriac, the future ornament of the Royal Library.—(*Audin's Life of Calvin*, Am. trans. chap. vi.)

Nor was the gay monarch less munificent to laymen and foreigners of distinguished literary merit. He invited them by the most tempting offers to his capital, and pressed them to teach in his colleges. Of eminent men thus honoured by Francis I., we mention Erasmus, whose permanent services, however, he failed to secure; William Bude, one of the greatest scholars of the age; and William Copt,

the royal physician; Guidacerio, a protégé of Leo X. and a most able professor of Hebrew; Peter Danes, professor of Greek; Postel, an eminent mathematician and teacher of the oriental languages: and Vatable, the greatest man, perhaps, whom we have yet named, and whose praises are thus sounded by a competent judge, Audin, in his *Life of Calvin*. “Vatable,” says that interesting biographer, was “a poor village *curé* of Brametz in Valois, who, at the period of the emigration of the Greeks, arrested upon the highway a fugitive Hellenist, divided with him his bread and his parishioners, and in exchange obtained an initiation into the Greek and Hebrew languages. To his lectures he attracted even the Israelites, who returned marvelling at his science, and regretting that God had not given the young professor the grace to be born a Jew.”—(*Ib.*)

These are some of the great men whose literary merits have surrounded the name and reign of Francis I. with so much glory; the high repute in which they are still held is a sufficient proof that the literary and scientific fame of France, is not based on Calvin's Reformation.

If, on our way from France into Germany in search of learning previous to the Reformation, we call at the ancient and venerable city of Geneva, we shall find there, also, much to satisfy us that, literature and the arts had flourished among its citizens long ere they ceased to be Catholic, and while they were yet under the spiritual and temporal rule of a Catholic bishop. Audin is eloquent and most convincing on this subject. “While Berne,” says he, “was thus moving on with floods of missionaries and soldiers, to aid the Eidgenos (the Swiss confederates at war with the Duke of Savoy) Geneva, in her monuments and customs, was still entirely Catholic;—a city of the arts and of charity, open to the

learned and to the poor. Three nations seemed to defile through it without intermission, leaving there some germs of their distinctive characters; the Savoyard, his probity; the Italian, his love of forms; the Frenchman, his reckless gaiety."

"Its bishops had frequently opened their palaces, to give welcome to the painters of Germany, who in the middle ages, went in pilgrimage to Rome; or to the Italian artists, who traversed Switzerland, for the purpose of visiting France. Both of these were accustomed to repay episcopal hospitality, by leaving with their hosts some work of art,—a Christ in ivory, a little statue cut from the hard oak, a Madonna painted on canvass;—with which the prelate would enrich some church or convent, with the sole condition of praying for the traveller. These prayers were still recited at the time that the Reformation came to drive away the bishops, and to burn the statues and pictures: thus at once proving itself cruel, sacrilegious and ignorant. At that time, Geneva possessed a fine museum, not imprisoned within four walls of pargot stone, but open to the air and to the Alpine sunlight, or in the vast nave of some basilica. With pride it could direct the stranger's attention to six statues of saints which ornamented the grand entrance to the church of the Grey Friars; to the two angels whose outspread wings overshadowed the cemetery of the Magdalen: to the stained glass of St. Anthony, whose colours were fresh and beautiful as those of Cologne: to the stone arabesques of the convent of the Jacobins: the crucifix of the cathedral, a work of some unknown master, and to many other wonders of art, which the fury of the Reformers broke into pieces, to prove, without doubt, the truth of that prophecy of Erasmus: "Every where that Lutheranism shall

obtain the ascendancy, the cultivation of the arts will be extinguished."

The number, beauty, and wealth of the churches, hospitals, and convents of Geneva at the time of the Reformation, and for many years before the change of Religion, sufficiently prove that art and commerce and Christian charity were no strangers in that favoured spot, when the genius of Catholicism guided the councils of its wise men and governors. After the Religious revolution, literature still maintained its empire, but Christian art and charity were scared away. "Geneva," says Audin, "boasted seven hospitals, sustained by their own income, or by the alms of the charitable. There was one destined for the poor traveller who might have fallen sick upon his journey: he was cared for and nursed until he was able to resume his travel; as soon as he could rise and walk, a brother came and warned him to yield his bed to another pilgrim. The restored wayfarer set out, after having received a loaf of bread and a gourd of wine, but he was obliged, for three days, to recite an *Ave Maria* for the Hospital. After the Reformation, nearly all these institutions of prayer and charity fell—only two remained."—(Life of Calvin, p. 108-9.) Such was, in Catholic times, what has long been styled the city of Calvin, the Rome of Presbyterianism!

From the southern and more genial climes of Europe, we may now turn our attention to the north, and examine how it fared there with literature and the arts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that remarkable epoch which just preceded the Reformation.

At the time we refer to, thanks to the zeal of the Roman pontiffs, and the unwearied exertions of holy monks and illustrious prelates, Germany, and the neighbouring countries had begun to acquire a

literary taste and felt some anxiety to emulate Italy, France, and the Spanish Peninsula in their rapid career of intellectual culture. With this view they had founded some universities and established schools of considerable repute, where the ancient languages and modern sciences were cultivated with laudable care and no mean success. Still, these countries, taken as a whole, were much in the rear of southern Europe—a fact which the most eminent German scholars of the time regretted, indeed, but could not gainsay. They did better than merely avow it—they endeavoured to remove the reproach. One of them, Agricola, who laboured hard in so good a cause, wrote thus to a friend, who nobly seconded his efforts: “I entertain the greatest hope from your exertions, that we shall one day wrest from this insolent Italy her vaunted glory of pre-eminent eloquence; and redeeming ourselves from the opprobrium of ignorance, barbarism, and incapacity of expression which she is ever casting upon us, may show our Germany so deeply learned, that Latium herself shall not be more Latin than she will appear.”—*Hallam's Lit.*, Vol. I. p. 205.

That these querulous but confident words contained much truth is pretty clear from collateral evidence adduced by the able writer from whom we have made our last quotation. He frankly declares that, during the period under consideration, Germany could by no means compete with Italy in the number or the learning of its scholars. “If,” says he, “leaving the genial city of Florence, we are apt to judge of the state of knowledge in our Cisalpine regions, and look at the books it was thought worth while to publish, which seems no bad criterion, we shall rate but lowly their proficiency in the classical literature so much valued in Italy. Four editions, and these chiefly of short works, were printed at

Deventer, one at Cologne, one at Louvain, five, perhaps, at Paris, and two at Lyons. But a few undated books might, probably, be added. Either, therefore, the love of ancient learning had grown colder, which was certainly not the case, or it had never been strong enough to reward the labour of the too sanguine printers. Yet it *was now striking root in Germany*. The excellent schools of Munster and Schelstadt were established in some part of this decad: they trained those who were themselves to become instructors."—*Ib.* p. 204.

Here, then, according to this learned author, the love of learning had never been so strong in Germany as it had been in Italy*: the Germans had not yet learned to value, as the Italians had long valued, the classical literature of Greece and Rome. They had, indeed, *begun* to have some fancy for it: the precious plant had, it is true, begun to take root in their more northern clime, but, under the influence of an Italian sun, it had already grown up into a great tree. About the time we speak of, Germany could boast of *two* excellent schools,—that of Munster, and that of Schelstadt, but on the south side of the Alps there were already many celebrated universities.

* We are rather surprised to find Hallam insinuating that the church was hostile to the progress of letters in Germany. His great learning ought to have guarded *him*, at least, from so vulgar an error. There is little taste, and no truth, in his sneer at the "mendicant friars", or in his designating Cologne as the "head quarters of barbarous superstition!" Disputing about the best books and the most approved method of teaching the languages is no proof of hostility to letters. Now, the friars did no more than this: they loved knowledge as well as others, but they differed with some others regarding the best method of communicating knowledge. Is this a proof of barbarous superstition, or of enmity to learning?

What we have said of Germany, with regard to the state of learning, may be predicated of England during the same period. At the times we refer to, that is, during the ages immediately preceding the Reformation, England was far behind Italy in learning of every kind. Not that England had not felt the general impulse given to intellectual culture over the whole of Christendom by various causes, among which we may reckon the discovery of the art of printing, and by the general progress which Europe was then making in all the arts and sciences: but that notwithstanding this, she had not, in her onward march, kept pace with the more favoured nations of the south. This is at once and most clearly admitted by Hallam, whose authority is decisive on the question. "The difference in point of learning between Italy and England was at least that of a century—that is, the former was as much advanced in knowledge of ancient literature in 1400 as the latter was in 1500."

Such was the literary condition of Western Europe, just before those dreadful religious revolutions, termed the Reformation, broke out to inflict so many evils on Christendom. Letters were every where in honour; were every where more or less cultivated, and men of great literary and scientific merit were every day becoming more numerous. Never, at any previous period, and perhaps never since "was the desire of knowledge more enthusiastic and universal:"* never was more zeal displayed for the founding of schools and the establishing of universities: never did the patronage of great and royal persons shower down more copiously honours and riches on learned men. But it would be a great mistake to attribute this love of letters, this revival of

* Prescott.

learning, this irresistible activity of the European mind to the light of the Reformation. That light, whether for good or for evil, had not yet begun to shine—chronologically speaking, Luther was not yet born. The revival of letters, then, was due solely and exclusively to the benign and powerful influence of Catholicism—that influence which subdued the Goths and Vandals, and other barbarous and conquering tribes, which drove the Arabs from Spain, and saved every country in Europe from sinking, as the Christian portions of Africa and of Asia had already sunk, under the Mahometan yoke. Catholicism saved Europe when nought else could.

2. So far was the Reformation from contributing to the revival of learning, that it actually retarded the good cause—threw it back for years. Had the change in religion taken place a little earlier, that is, ere learning had struck sufficiently deep root, the noblest plants and the stateliest trees in the wide fields of literature might have been prematurely cut down. Europe might have remained to this hour involved in what is disdainfully styled by Protestantism the “darkness of the middle ages.”

When, at length, the Reformation did come, the circumstances under which it was ushered in were decidedly injurious to the cause of social and literary progress. It is assuredly in times of peace that the minds of men, free from those engrossing anxieties inseparable from contentions and wars, can calmly yield themselves up to study, to contemplation, and to intellectual culture. Now, it cannot be denied that the new religion did not make its appearance in the world with the olive branch of peace in its hand. It every where forced its way at the point of the sword, too often establishing its reign in the midst of ruins which the lapse of long

centuries has alone been able to repair. This is easily explained.

The Reformation was nothing more or less than a schism, a religious revolt against ecclesiastical order and authority. Now, it is a maxim in politics and an axiom in religion, that real civilization and true faith cannot be advanced by divisions, by contentious separation, but rather "by the spirit of concord, by the harmonious exertion and development of all our faculties*." This spirit of concord, these harmonious exertions, were not to be looked for amid the desolating wars, which, we know, were the first fruits of the Reformation. There were, in Germany, the "Peasants' War," the "Munster and Anabaptist Wars," the "Thirty Years' War," without taking into account numberless tumults, seditions, plunderings and oppressions. In Switzerland, one half of the cantons fought for years against the other half; and the leading Reformer among the once united, happy and free mountaineers, fell on the field of Capel a victim to that strife which he had himself excited, whilst he should have been teaching his flocks the peaceable maxims of the gospel. We have already alluded to the bloody civil wars in which France involved herself by thoughtlessly coquetting with the Reformation. Wars, scarcely less disastrous and cruel than those which laid waste the finest provinces of France and Germany, swept over the low countries as well as the empire of Austria and its kindred kingdoms and dependencies. German historians and patriots comment on these sad times with sorrow and shame, and declare them to have been fraught with evils as great and unmitigated as any that ever befel their country. Schlegel tells us that, after the first fierce struggles

* Schlegel.

which followed the Reformation into Germany and Switzerland, and which lasted some fifty years, "there ensued a general religious war of eighty years' duration," which was accompanied as might be expected, "by an internal disorganization of all the principles and maxims by which life is guided, moulded and regulated."—*Lectures on Mod. His.*, p. 262. Bohn's Ed.

Amidst the din of arms, and the devastating scenes which convulsed the Reforming world, the muses, the arts, science, literature of all kinds, trade, commerce, liberty itself, were forgot or disregarded. Germany, the birth-place of the Reformation, suffered more than any other country from the monster which it had introduced to the light of day. Hence we are told by historians that, at the peace of Westphalia, the Germanic nations had lost from one-half to two-thirds of their population, besides an incalculable amount of wealth: the national literature had fallen into disrepute; hardly anything issued from the press save *barbaro-polemic* tracts, sermons, controversial essays and abusive pamphlets: the liberty of the press had perished; the power of the middle classes was greatly abridged; the ancient free cities were now free only in name, while the princes had appropriated the spoils of the church, and increased their power to such an extent as to become what would of old have been intolerable to men of the Teutonic race—military despots.—*Id ut Sup.*

Of the singularly deteriorating effects of the Reformation on general literature no secret is made by the more candid Protestants. The father of that sad Revolution, was not himself a man of literary taste, nor had he the cause of learning at heart. According to Hallam, and we could not have better authority, there is "no foundation for imagining that Luther was concerned for the interests of

literature. None had he himself, save theological ; nor are there, as I apprehend, many allusions to profane studies, or any proof of his regard for them, in all his works. "On the contrary," continues frankly this candid author, "it is probable that both the principles of this great founder of the Reformation, and the natural tendency of so intense an application to theological controversy, checked, for a time, the progress of philological and philosophical literature on this side of the Alps."—(Lit. Vol. I., p. 296.) Again, the same author observes that the "first effects of the great religious schism in Germany were not favourable to classical literature.—*Ib.* p. 329.

One of the first and most fatal "effects" of the Reformation was to let loose a wild spirit of fanaticism (Schlegel), than which as Hallam avers, and as experience demonstrates, there can be nothing more hostile to literature. "Men," says this last named writer, "who interpreted the Scripture by the spirit could not think human learning of much value in religion ; and they were as little likely to perceive any other advantage it could possess." There was, indeed, a strong party among the Reformers, who set as little store on human sciences as any Goth or Vandal of earlier times, and would gladly have buried the valued remnants of Greek and Roman learning under the ruins of those monasteries in which, and by which alone they were preserved through the lapse of ages. "There seemed, indeed, a considerable peril, that through the authority of Carlostadt, or even of Luther, the lessons of Crocus and Mosselanus would be totally forgotten. And this would probably have been the case, if one man, Melancthon, had not perceived the necessity of preserving human learning as a bulwark to theology itself against the wild waves of enthusiasm. It was

owing to him that both the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and that of the Aristotlean philosophy, were maintained in Germany."—*Ut Sup.* p. 330.

Notwithstanding these laudable efforts of Melancthon, the cause of letters continued on the wane: the "wild waves of enthusiasm" were not to be controlled—they swept like a deluge over Germany, and, as Hallam says, that country "fell lower and lower in classical literature." So rapid was her fall, and so enduring was her disgrace, that a "writer as late as 1714 complains, that only modern books of Latin were taught in the schools, and that the students in the universities despised all grammatical learning." (Hallam, Vol. III., p. 244.) The young Germans whose ancestors had preferred a new creed to an old one, felt more relish for modern French literature than for the ancient models, whom the French themselves were glad to imitate. It was a mistake in both cases; but the error of the elder race of Germans was the most fatal of the two.

Frederick Schlegel, as competent and as impartial a judge as Hallam of the "effects" of the Reformation, while he admits, that "the schism, has in some cases perhaps, served, through the contest it excited, mutually to sharpen and elevate the intellectual energies," declares it to have been singularly hostile to literary refinement. Like a slow poison, he says, the schismatic spirit of contentiousness preyed on all around, and he unhesitatingly avers "that had the Protestant doctrines prevailed, it is incalculable how much of the ancient civilization, and the ancient constitution, which in later and more tranquil times, has been appreciated and turned to account, would have irrevocably perished with the ancient church." (*Lect. Mod. Hist.*, p. 261, Bohn.)

In confirmation of this sad view of the effects of

the Reformation, we may here repeat the reproaches addressed by Erasmus to its friends and abettors when time had enabled him to mark and appreciate the lamentable work it was perpetrating. "I dislike," says he, "these gospellers on many accounts, but chiefly because, through their agency, literature every where languishes, disappears, lies drooping, and perishes ; and yet without learning, what is a man's life ? They love good cheer and a wife, for other things they care not a straw." Again, he says, more emphatically : "The Supremacy of Lutheranism is the death of literature."—(See both quot. in Hallam, Vol. I., p. 297.) It is a well-known fact, registered by Luther himself in his letter to the German nobility, that, had he been allowed to follow his own inclinations, he would have committed to the flames the works of Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero ; his disciple, Stork, the chief afterwards of a new religion, held it a crime to learn aught of human science, on the plea that our mind and all its faculties should ever be engaged on godly subjects.—(Osiander, quoted by Robelot.) The most moderate men of this party would, indeed, go the length of learning Hebrew, for the pious purpose, no doubt, of studying the Scriptures, forgetting that some of the Scriptures, and to Christians the most essential part of the holy book, that is the New Testament, was not written in Hebrew. At a more recent period, and in times not yet very remote, a Protestant author, who was at the same time an infidel philosopher, maintained in his famous book on education (Rousseau's *Emile*) that the *only* way to avoid falling into error was to remain in *ignorance* ; and in an essay crowned liked that of Villers, by a learned academy, the same author held that "the revival of the arts and sciences had not contributed to improve morality.—(Robelot, p. 358.)

All this notwithstanding, we are often told that the leading Reformers and their earlier disciples were men of literary taste and of much learning: even Hallam informs us in a note Vol. I., p. 297, that "there were at this time, (the commencement of the Reformation) as well as afterwards more learned men on this side of the Reformation than on that of the church." In support of this doctrine its abettors point to Luther and Melancthon, and Zuinglius and Carlostadius and Castalion, and Servetus and Van Haller, and a host of less distinguished men.

Our reply to this is that, undoubtedly there was no lack of learned men at the commencement of the Reformation, and that many of the first Reformers, and of their earlier disciples, were men of learning: but we maintain that these were all educated and trained in the bosom of the Catholic church. Whatever attainments they had acquired,—whatever knowledge they were possessed of, they owed all to the Catholic schools. They were learned men and Catholics before they become Reformers, and so well were they appreciated as men of superior information that many attribute their taste for, and success in, the work of Reform to their uncommon learning. We of course cannot adopt this opinion, but we have no objection to admit the claims of these men to great proficiency in literature, knowing as we do that all their merits in this respect should be set down to the credit of the Catholic church, within whose pale they had been reared, and at whose exhaustless fountains of knowledge they had drunk so deeply.

Our opponents must yield to this mode of reason, or account for the extraordinary learning of the Reformers, by adopting the theory facetiously propounded for this purpose by a celebrated novelist—viz., that Luther and his compeers came into the world

fully armed and prepared for the theological battle. "We need not be reminded," replied de Lancaster, "how many preternatural and prodigious births have occurred, and have been recorded in the annals of mankind....What shall we say of the famous Martin Luther, who being ordained to act so conspicuous a part in opposition to the papal power, came into the world fully equipped for controversy; his mother being delivered of her infant, (wonderful to relate), habited in all points as a theologian, and, (which I conceive must have sensibly incommoded her), wearing a square cap on his head. This may, perhaps, appear to you, as no doubt it did to the midwife, and all present at his birth, as a very extraordinary and preternatural circumstance. — (*Cumberland's De Lancaster*, Vol. I., p. 28.)

They who are not "bold enough" to believe this account of Martin's birth, and of his coming into the world inwardly endowed and outwardly habited as a grave divine and a learned doctor of divinity, must humbly think with us, that he owed his talents to God, and the successful cultivation of them to the care of his mother church, whose maternal bosom he afterwards so cruelly lacerated. As to Hallam's assertion that at the period of the Reformation, as well as afterwards, there were more learned men among the Reformers than on the side of the church, we beg to say, with all deference to that eminent scholar, that it is wholly unfounded.

At all times both before and after the Reformation, the great and learned in the church, (and just in proportion as they were great and learned), were anxious to reform whatever abuses the lapse of time and the frailty of human nature might occasionally introduce within her holy places. Long before Luther, St. Bernard, and many besides, noted for sanctity and erudition, were Reformers in the legitimate sense of the

word, but they were not enemies of the church—they wished to eradicate the weeds from some of her ill-cultivated and neglected fields, but they sought not to remove the landmarks of the faith. In this sense and thus far, it is true to say there were many learned men in the ranks of the Reformers: but these ranks were thinned: they were deserted by the learned-good as soon as the Reformers passed the bounds of moderation, and proved to the world that their object was not to heal up the wounds of the church, not to repair the damage she had sustained in her conflict with the world, but to inflict additional blows, to aggravate her evils, to bleed her to death, and to bury her in an ignominious grave. Of the men who thus forsook the Reformers we may mention Erasmus, Reuchlin, and Staupitz, Luther's early friend and patron.

In justice to the reforming party we must state that they themselves laid no claim to that superior learning for which they now get credit, and to which many believe themselves indebted for the blessings of the Reformation. The fact is, the early Reformers aspired to something higher than mere literary knowledge, and pretended to derive their new light from a purer source than any which human learning can supply—they claimed the gift of inspiration. Without much instruction themselves in many instances, they uniformly sought and found favour first and principally among the uninstructed. "The most striking effect of the first preaching of the Reformation," says Hallam, "was that it appealed to the ignorant. (Vol. I., p. 353.) It appealed to the ignorant, and flattered their pride by exhorting them to read for themselves, and judge of religious truths and duties for themselves also. The Bible was put into the hands of all classes. No distinction was made between the learned and unlearned. All read

who could : and they who had not learned the use of letters were content to listen to those who had—all disputed, all judged and decided,—women as well as men. The fair sex, we are told, took an active part in all the religious discussions of the day, to the great satisfaction of the Reformers. We know what hopes were built, for the conversion of Italy to Calvinism, on the well-known hatred of the Duchess of Ferrara towards the Holy See,—an implacable hatred, founded on purely secular grounds,—the hostility of Julius II. to her father, King Louis XII. of France : we know, too, the many intrigues carried on by the Queen of Navarre and her female suite at the court of France, to despoil that great kingdom of its cherished creed. Now, neither of these princesses were remarkable for learning, but they took much pride in seeming to patronize learned men. In the humbler walks of life there were many individuals proud of, and anxious to display their controversial talents. “It was a common thing to hold conferences before the burgomasters of Germany and the Swiss towns, who settled the points in controversy one way or the other, perhaps as well as the learned would have done.” (*Ib. ut sup.*)

Impressed with the idea, and flattered with the thought, that they required no human learning to understand the Scriptures—which to them were all in all, the early Reformers, lay and clerical, despised secular knowledge, holding in contempt all teaching save that of the Spirit, under whose influence and in whose divine school they fancied themselves to be. No wonder, if, under these circumstances, Germany sank lower and lower, as Hallam says, in the scale of literary nations.

This state of prostration into which the republic of letters had fallen continued for a long series of years. During that sad era, all had perished

together, trade, commerce, the arts and sciences, the study of antiquity and of the ancient languages: the curse of religious strife had blighted all. Nor did any symptom of better days appear until the close of those wars of eighty years' duration, whose ravages we have already noticed.

When, however, laying down their arms, after the treaty of Westphalia, the Germans began to cultivate the arts of peace—with the blessing of peace others were vouchsafed. The Teutonic mind again reverted to literary pursuits. South and North Germany again paid their court to the muses;—and both parties—they who had adhered to the Roman See, and they who rejected its claims, repaired again to Rome, to learn, as of old, those erudite lessons which they knew full well no school but that of Italy and of Rome could teach. For, as Schlegel says, “in Italy art and poetry flourished in her beautiful language; and classical erudition made considerable progress, and even arrived at a very advanced state during that troubled period when the rest of Europe was involved in religious disputes and civil wars.” —(Phil. of His. p. 419, Bohn). Italy and France, herself in many respects a disciple of Italy, exercised during many years for good and for evil incalculable, a vast influence on the literature of Germany. Under that influence and under the still more powerful influence of that toleration with which the various religionists of Germany had learned, during their long civil wars, to treat one another, all parties entered with heart and soul on “the pursuits of literature and the labours of science.” They have persevered, too, in that nobler course, and have succeeded in raising their country to a level with the most enlightened nations of Europe. This, however, has been achieved not by the Reformation, but long after it and in spite of it.

Having thus stated how slowly, and at how late a period, the German nations entered into the pleasant ways of literature, we may now remark, that in proportion as they did acquire knowledge they manifested a strong inclination to return to the bosom of the Catholic church. Many of them, including whole provinces of the Austrian empire did return. The tide of hitherto irresistible Protestantism was arrested by the schools and the learning of the Jesuits. Ranke, in his History of the Popes, dwells at great length on this important and undeniable fact. It is also a most gratifying and significative fact that among the learned of Germany there have been, individually speaking, numerous conversions to Catholicism in each of the three centuries which have elapsed since the Reformation. We may also observe that the two greatest scholars of which continental Protestantism could ever boast—and the greatest of the two more particularly—Leibnitz and Grotius were Catholics in all but the name. These illustrious men started in their literary career firm and sincere Protestants: but every hour spent in study, every step they made in knowledge, brought them nearer to the creed of Rome. In the theological and dogmatic works of Leibnitz there is scarcely a line which a Catholic would wish to obliterate.

It will, we are aware, be urged against us, that at the present moment, there are, and that for years back, there have been more light and learning among Protestant than among Catholic nations: that Germany is at present far in advance of Spain and Portugal, and that even Italy itself must now yield the palm to men whose ancestors she was wont to designate as the “Barbarians” beyond the Alps.

Ere we reply to such arguments as these, we must refer to the principles which we laid down some pages back relative to the golden or Augustan ages

of nations and of literature. Spain and Portugal, and still more Italy, are in a literary point of view, much older nations than Germany. Indeed, nearly the same may be said of most Catholic nations compared with Protestant nations. At the time of the Reformation, the then powerful and enlightened kingdoms and commonwealths of the south, clung to the ancient faith: the less civilized, and more illiterate and smaller states of Northern Europe submitted to the new doctrines. Meantime the former were just entering into, or passing through, or emerging from their golden age—the latter were yet far from that happy epoch in their history. Our remote progenitors witnessed the highest pitch of prosperity attained by the one party, we ourselves have been destined to see that reached by the other. Both Protestant and Catholic nations have appeared in turns at the top of the wheel, but the latter first ascended the honourable height. This is a fact to which all modern history bears witness. Undeniable as it is, however, it cannot of itself prove that the religion of the one party is better than that of the other.

If worldly prosperity could be regarded as a test of the merits of religion and of its truth, there was a time when, even according to our adversaries, Catholicism was the true faith. For Catholic nations have like others, had their shares of earthly goods and blessings. Spain under Charles V., Portugal during the reign of Emmanuel; the Republics of Venice and Genoa for centuries together; France in its most Catholic times, and governed by its elder Bourbons, were certainly more powerful, more enlightened, greater and every way more influential than Norway and Sweden, and Denmark and Scotland, and the Hanseatic towns, or even England itself within a century of the times we live in. If,

in some respects, the glory of the Catholic countries has become dim, and if their strength has suffered decay, we may attribute all this to natural causes—to age and exertion, and the numerous chances and changes to which men and nations are subject, and over which they have but small control. All is doomed to die here on earth: the freshest laurel will fade in time on the hero's brow, and the most robust oak in the forest will at length moulder into dust. Had nations, like individuals, the faculty of speech, the Catholic might thus address the Protestant state: "To-day for me and to-morrow for thee."

The greater antiquity of the Catholic nations, and some of the consequences of that antiquity have not escaped the attention of Protestant philosophers. The celebrated Kohl in his "Travels in the Netherlands" says, "The whole of northern Europe is of much later date than the south, and this fact accounts for the entirely different appearance of Holland and Belgium. Civilization," (this is precisely our doctrine), "every where proceeded from the south, and slowly progressed towards the north, so that the south of Italy and Germany is some centuries older than the north of Germany, and, in spite of the proximity, Belgium is of far greater antiquity than Holland. Every Belgian town dates its origin, and embraces in its history, at least five hundred years more than any town in Holland. Bruges, Antwerp, Louvain, were at the height of their renown when scarcely a town was built in Holland. Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and the Hague, have hardly been of importance for more than 400 years. The relative existence and flourishing condition of Holland and Belgium are in the same degree, in point of time, as that of Prussia, and Austria and Bavaria."—(See "*Critic*" Newspaper, May 15, 1850.)

But, while we lay down this doctrine and draw

from its legitimate consequences, we are far from admitting that, as a whole and in every point of view, civilization and literature are further advanced in Protestant than in Catholic countries. We deny that Italy is now, or has been during any age, from that of Augustus to our own, inferior to any part of the world in art, in science, and in general knowledge. We need not, in confirmation of this doctrine, parade here a long list of great and glorious names. Every biographical dictionary, every literary history of Europe, bears witness to the fact. There may be, indeed there must be, shades of difference between the literature of the south and that of the north. There are natural reasons for this difference in the genius, character, and customs of the various peoples, and in the extremely different climates which they inhabit. We believe, too, that the Reformation had, indirectly, a very bad effect on the literature of Italy. The Italians were alarmed at the sad scenes and bloody wars engendered by the religious convulsions of the north, and to save their beautiful soil from such disasters, they adopted stringent measures to guard against such evils. They made many sacrifices to ward off from their shores religious innovation, the fruitful parent of contention and strife. Of these sacrifices one, and not the least of them, was, that the Italian found himself obliged to cultivate his imagination more than his understanding. The philosophy of the north appeared to him under such terrible forms, so uncertain, so contentious, so irreligious, so destructive to the peace of society, and so hostile to all social enjoyment however innocent, so stained with blood, and so fraught with danger to the best interests of society, that he turned from it with disgust and horror to indulge in the more pleasant and harmless paths in which history, poetry, romance, and the fine arts are wont to tread. This

idea, which is not new, is developed by Schlegel in better language than we can command. "The character of modern nations and states within the last three centuries has been, if not exclusively, yet chiefly moulded by the form which the Reformation assumed, and the influence it exercised in each of them. Of the principal countries of Europe, Italy was indisputably the most fortunate in the first century after the Reformation, precisely because she remained free from its influence, (except the remote and immediate impression created by the universal change), and was spared all intestine religious wars. The public peace there required no further sacrifice than, perhaps, the prosecution or exile of one or two scholars, whose mode of thinking and whose doctrines might now appear dangerous to the public security, although in other times, perhaps, they would have augmented and exalted the fame of Italy. As Italy and Spain had preserved their national unity, they alone at this period possessed a true national intellectual culture, and a literature that was the reflexion of it. But, unfortunately, from a dread of abuse and of doctrinal innovations, philosophy was excluded this circle of intellectual culture, or reduced to a dead, powerless form, for literature was altogether too much restricted to the regions of imagination. Hence this Italian and Spanish civilization, brilliant as it was in art, poetry, and literature, bore within itself the germ of weakness and decay, for a true and lasting cultivation can alone proceed from the harmonious development of all our faculties."—(Lect. on Mod. His., p. 210.) Such were in Italy, where the Reformation never obtained a firm footing, its sad effects on Italian literature. We need not, then, be surprised at the havoc it made on letters in those unfortunate countries where it gained the ascendancy.

The profound writer from whom we have been just quoting, will throw much light on this subject: "In England and Germany, through recollections of other times and old traditions, many isolated flowers of northern poesy still sprang up on the national soil, even in this century; but a regular series of intellectual works, a body of national literature, as in Spain and Italy, could not there grow up. The storm of civil war swept away into oblivion every plant that strove to put forth its leaves. In Germany the very language became barbarous when, after a whole century of religious controversies, invariably carried on with bitterness, often with coarseness, generally with a false subtlety, and but rarely with originality and profoundness of intellect, there ensued a universal and desolating war, whereof many survived the termination, in manhood or old age, who had witnessed its commencement in childhood or youth."—(*Ib.*)

France, too, as well as Germany, just in proportion as France tampered with the Reformation was she punished by the blighting influence of heresy on her peace and literary prosperity. "In France," continues Schlegel, "all interest and energy were, at that period, exclusively absorbed by civil commotions and party contests. It was not until Richelieu re-established unity, that the era of the Belles Lettres commenced in France."—(*Ib.*)

Italy, then, and Spain purchased religious peace at a high price—a portion of their literary glory; but when we contemplate the mischief which controversy wrought in England, France, and especially Germany, we cannot conscientiously declare that the price was beyond the value of the article purchased. To stem the torrent of innovation it is true Italy and Spain denied themselves the pleasure of indulging to a certain extent in philosophical

pursuits, but France, and Germany, and England too, borne away by false theories in philosophy, and lost in religious disputes, “neglected almost every branch of intellectual cultivation.”

From all this, it is plain that the era of Belles Lettres did not commence in Protestant countries until these countries had settled their religious quarrels, whereas, in the Catholic regions of the south, literature, art and science, were ever cultivated with care. If it be argued that the northern nations have made rapid progress, and have, at length, in some respects distanced their rivals, it should be remembered that at starting the former enjoyed many advantages of which the latter were deprived. Every thing was prepared to their hand—they had scarcely anything else to do than to profit by the experience of those who preceded them: they went to the school of their contemporaries and learned as much there, in a few years, as these men themselves had learned in as many centuries. No wonder then, if fresh and vigorous, at the commencement of their literary career, and unfettered by worn-out systems, and unencumbered by antiquated laws and the infirmities which age ever brings in its train, the Protestant nations of the north advanced rapidly in the path of progress. They learned from the Catholic nations themselves what they could learn from none besides—to equal them in those departments of science which are purely secular. Not that Catholics sank down to what Protestants had been, but that the Protestants, aided by the Catholics, rose to what Catholics were. If the light of learning has, for two centuries, shone less brightly in Spain than it formerly did, it, at least, has never been wholly extinguished, and we have every reason to think that, as the noble Spanish nation recovers from the

political humiliation, into which, in the course of things, it has fallen, that light which once dazzled the nations of Europe will gleam out anew. In Italy the race of great men, of illustrious writers, in almost every department has never ceased to be numerous ; and whatever Protestant prejudices may assert, Catholic Europe abounds with eminent scholars, equal in every respect to the most vaunted among their heterodox brethren. There is, we fear not to assert it, more true and salutary light in the south than in the north : in the communion of Rome than beyond its pale. Indeed, where Protestantism has long reigned supreme, where schools are most numerous, where education is compulsory, and of course, very generally diffused, in the very city which is styled the intellectual—Berlin, there are vulgar errors, debasing superstitions, which indicate much real ignorance, which might disgrace any age or country, and which, we verily believe, would be looked for in vain in any Catholic capital in Europe. Among other proofs of this we may quote a few lines from the “Times correspondent,” writing from Berlin on the 30th of May of this very year 1850 : “The legend (that of the white lady*) is a favourite one with the Berliners, among whom, it may be observed, in passing, there is a good average amount of superstition and credulity. We have new religions about once a month : there were almost riots last year round the house of a wonderful child, who wrought miracles ; herb doctors advertize that the moon is in the favourable quarter for swallowing their compounds ; dream books sell well ; old women

* According to the legend referred to, a “White Lady” walks the palace when anything particular is about to happen to a member of the Prussian royal family.

are frequently being taken up for fortune-telling with cards; the papers described, only a few days since, a man who had made a handsome fortune as a consulting conjuror without once falling into the hands of the police, which speaks volumes for his tact; but he saw none but 'respectable and educated' people. If details could be gone into, some strange facts of this kind could be catalogued against 'THE CITY OF INTELLIGENCE.'"

As a proof of the superiority of the Protestant creed and of its good effects on those who adhere to it, many urge that Catholic countries are not so well cultivated as Protestant countries: that Catholics, generally speaking, are poorer, less tidy, less comfortable in their worldly position than Protestants; it is alleged that in Switzerland, and some parts of Germany, a stranger may know by the appearance of the country to what form of faith its population belongs: the best and most carefully cultivated land ever being in the hands of Protestants—Italy, it is alleged, is not what it ought to be, and what it would be under Protestant influence; and, as for Ireland, its unshaken adherence to the olden creed is made to account for all its miseries. With Protestants, the great argument is, that if their religion gained the ascendancy in the now Catholic countries, the people would soon become enlightened, and a new and better era would immediately commence. In proof of this, Protestants point triumphantly to England, Prussia, the United States, and some other parts of the world where their tenets have been diffused. On this subject many writers, honest, and earnest enough, have poured out most eloquent strains; but we must confess they have as yet failed to convince us of the superiority of the Reformed creeds—our incredulity is founded on many reasons.

Worldly* prosperity, as we have already observed, is not always a safe criterion whereby to judge of religious creeds; hands that are daily raised to offer incense to false gods, may be "cunning" in all

* Bossuet illustrates, in a most striking manner, the truth which we, alas, so feebly express. He supposes the Almighty thus addressing men who imagine that the just alone, and those who profess the true religion, can meet with worldly success:—"Voyez, dit-il, mortels abusés, voyez l'état que je fais des biens après les quels vous courez avec tant d'ardeur; voyez à quel prix je les mets et avec quelle facilité je les abandonne à mes ennemis: je dis à mes ennemis les plus implacables, à ceux auxquels ma juste fureur prépare des torrents des flammes éternelles. Regardez les republiques de Rome et d'Athènes; elles ne connoîtront pas seulement mon nom adorable, elles serviront les idoles. Toutefois elles seront florissantes par les lettres, par les conquêtes et par l'abondance, par toutes sortes de prospérités temporelles: et le peuple qui me révère sera rélégué en Judée, en un petit coin de l'Asie, environné des superbes monarchies des Orientaux infidèles. Voyez ce Néron, ce Domitien; ces deux monstres du genre humain, si durs par leur humeur sanguinaire, si efféminés par leurs infâmes délices, qui persécuteront mon église par toutes sortes de cruautés, qui oseront même se bâtir des temples pour braver la Divinité; ils seront les maîtres de l'univers. Dieu leur abandonne l'Empire du monde, comme un présent de peu d'importance qu'il met dans les mains de ses ennemis."—Sermon sur la Providence, Vol. IV., p. 314. The same idea has been illustrated by Mr. Digby in his own inimitable style. "Nor let it be thought an argument against this proposition (that Catholicism is blameless of the ills which afflict society) to point at the present condition of any country where the old religion still prevails. The fate which seems to hang over the miserable race of men is not to be explained by a few flippant sentences and abusive epithets upon things we may despise and understand not. 'O, my friend,' says the Spartan stranger, in Plato, to an Athenian, who seemed to think that the success of his country in war was a proof that its peculiar notions were the best, 'do not say that; for many defeats and victories are, and will be unaccountable, therefore, we cannot say that it is a clear, but rather a very doubtful criterion in estimating good and evil institutions, to have respect to success or reverse in war. So that, putting success and subjection out of the

kinds of workmanship. The Egyptians were skilled cultivators of the soil when they adored the onions and leeks that grew in their gardens. The heathen poets, orators, and historians of antiquity have been imitated by poets, orators, and historians, worshippers of the true God and of his Divine Son, and yet the disciples professing a purer creed, and possessing all those advantages which the knowledge of the true religion confers—the Christian disciples have not yet surpassed their pagan masters. The earliest epic poem, and the noblest which the world

question, let us proceed to argue how such an opinion or law is good :’ and, indeed, some men would do well to hear what the knight tells the clerk in the *Songe du Vergier*, that St. Gregory saith, *il n’est au monde segne plus evident de pardurable et eternelle damnacion que avoir tousjours prosperité continuelle.*”

With regard to the particular objection which the present condition of some nations is so likely to suggest to the superficial reasoner, we may observe that, when the old religious feeling glowed in every bosom, the monarchies of Europe were limited and consistent with the personal freedom and dignity of their subjects, and of the monarchs themselves ; and certainly it is from a very different source that we must trace the modern system of internal military police ; of the horrible conscription, of all the vexatious detail of passports and restraints ; of military obligations, standing armies, and their huge magazines of infernal agencies, threatening daily with destruction the unfortunate neighbourhood ; of the atrocious signing away of countries and cities to new sovereigns ; of enormous forced contributions ; of the vain parade of perpetual embassies, with their weight of diplomatic agents. All this is clearly shown in Mr. A. Haller’s great work on the restoration of political science. It is strange that men do not perceive how the enemies of freedom were the enemies of the ancient religion. Ambition, corruption, base intrigue, private interests, and the rebellion of the people, are the real causes of all national degradation and loss of freedom, and to these passions the religion of antiquity was essentially opposed.” *Morus*, p. 156. —See, on this subject, Dr. Newman’s eighth lecture on the “Difficulties of Anglicanism.” (Burns, London.)

has yet seen, is devoted to the praises of the heathen gods: are we to conclude that the religion of Homer was better and more divine than that of Tasso, Ariosto, and Milton? Rome conquered the Jewish nation and led thousands of its children into captivity, while the Jews were yet the people of God: is that a proof that Capitoline Jove, the chief of the Roman deities, was greater than Jehovah? and would the captive Hebrews have been justified in abandoning the God of their fathers to adore the idols of Rome?

As to Catholic lands being less carefully and skilfully cultivated than Protestant territories; as to the houses, and homes, and persons, of Catholic populations being less comfortable and less tidy than those of their Protestant neighbours; we may say, in the first place, that this, even if true, is but a poor proof of any superiority in the Protestant creed; we had always imagined that the best arguments in favour of Protestantism were to be found, not in the fields, whether ill or well tilled, but in the pages of the Bible, faithfully translated and properly understood. Christ, when here below, studied, not so much to teach us to seek earthly comforts and worldly wealth, as to engage us, by despising them, or, at least, by using them with moderation, to earn for our souls the joys of heaven. In the second place, we deny that the fact here alleged is generally true. The Tyrolese, and Belgian, and Tuscan peasants are among the best Catholics in the world, and yet the houses, and homes, and persons of these people are all that the most fastidious Dutchmen could desire. Compare what Sir Humphrey Davy says of the Tyrolese mountaineers with the accounts given by Protestant tourists of the St. Kilda islanders and other portions of our northern Protestant populations.

When we are told that Italy is now a desert, that its once fertile fields lie uncultivated, and that its once lovely soil is uncared for ; that it is swarming with paupers and murdering banditti ; we cannot help pitying weak human nature, so apt to be led away by passion and prejudice ; and surely passion and the blindest prejudice are the source from whence these accusations flow. Italy may not now, in some parts, be as thickly inhabited as in the brilliant days of the republic and of the empire, when Rome was the capital and mistress of the civilized world and the home of nations ; but, on the whole, there are more natives at the present hour in the Italian Peninsula, than there were in those boasted times. The historian of the “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire” is, we think, good authority on this subject. Now, he declares : “In my pilgrimage from Rome to Loretto, I again crossed the Appenine ; from the coast of the Adriatic I traversed a fruitful and populous country, which could alone disprove the partiality of Montesquieu,” (and of many others since his day), “that modern Italy is a desert. I hastened to escape from the solitude of Ferrara, which in the age of Cæsar was still more desolate.”—(*Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. I., p. 128.

Nor is the charge of pauperism and *brigandage*, so often urged against modern Italy, less unjust than that which we have just refuted. In every country where there is a teeming population, there will be a proportionate number of paupers, some being poor from the effects of vice, and some in consequence of the wise dispensations of Providence. Italy cannot expect to be exempted from the general law, and it will, of course, have its destitute children. We know the Roman poor were very numerous in the best days even of the empire ; and hard, indeed,

was their fate, for they yearly died in thousands of sheer starvation, there being none to care for them. In modern times the Italian poor are a much more fortunate race; the poor of Christ have ever been the favourite children of the church; she looks upon them as her most precious treasure, and she watches over them with peculiar care. From the earliest days the church in Rome was noted for its ardent and active charity, as well as for the purity of its faith. Lawrence, its holy deacon, was notorious, even among the pagans, for his extensive charities, and it was by the extraordinary sums which, in the name of the church, he poured into the bosom of the poor, that he drew upon himself the attention and the indignation of the covetuous heathen persecutor. This love for the poor, and this tender concern for their interests, have always been characteristic of the Catholic church, and nowhere more than in Italy. Italy is actually teeming with charitable institutions; but, alas! the would-be Reformers, the false liberals, the Mazzinis, and other pretended friends of the people, have of late made sad havoc among these noble creations of our holy faith; they have enriched themselves with the spoils of Christ's poor.

As to the alleged deficiency of the Italian police, we really cannot see what religion has to do with it. Crime is not confined to any country, nor is it anywhere protected by the Catholic faith. As a whole, and considering the number of foreigners residing in, or travelling through, Italy, we do not think that the acts of violence committed there are more numerous than similar transgressions in other countries. Even at home, and at the present day, many robberies take place in our great towns, London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other seats of trade and haunts of pleasure. It is not deemed safe to travel

unarmed either in Canada or the United States. Some countries in the north of Protestant Europe are infested with footpads, by whom tourists in the Scandinavian regions are daily plundered. But, to return to Italy, if we compare the lot of modern wayfarers there with that of their brethren of old, we shall find that the condition of the former is no worse, to say the least, than was that of the latter. In the halcyon days of the republic, murders and assassinations on the highway were of frequent occurrence. Every school-boy knows that Clodius, a powerful Roman citizen, was assailed and slaughtered by Milo on the Appian way, although defended by the swords of sixty well-armed and brawny followers. Such an event would surprise us greatly now-a-days.

The fact is, Protestants speak ill of Italy and other Catholic countries, merely because they are Catholic: they view every thing Catholic with Protestant eyes, and through the mist of Protestant prejudices. Hence they see so many things in a false light, and describe them in false colours. Honest and unprejudiced travellers admit this: Hume, the historian, was no friend to Catholicism, yet he took some pains to refute Addison's false charges relative to the state of Catholic countries, and attributed, as we do, these unfounded accusations to the Englishman's Protestant prejudices. "'Tis represented," says the philosopher, "that the difference is always sensible betwixt a Protestant and Catholic country throughout all Germany, and, perhaps, there may be something in the observation though it is not very sensible." Again, he adds, alluding to Addison, "if any foot soldier could have more ridiculous national prejudices than the poet, I should be much surprised. Be assured there is not a finer country in the world, nor are there any signs

of poverty among the people.* But John Bull's prejudices are ridiculous as his insolence is intolerable."—(Barton's *Life of Hume*, Vol. I., p 252.) A more recent traveller than Hume, Trotter, in his

* The same fact is borne out by an eye-witness at the present day. The editor of the "*Inverness Courier*," July 11th, 1850, says, "we have been favoured with extracts from the letter of a gentleman now sojourning in Italy, the writer is an intelligent member of a learned profession, has travelled a good deal, and is not a Roman Catholic in religion. After describing he proceeds to remark on the condition of the people—'If there be less liberty, there is much more equality in this country than in Scotland, and the peasantry are the most comfortably situated of any I have ever seen—much more so, certainly, than the peasant proprietors of France, although the former are only tenants. They rent the land, however, on such favourable conditions, and receive such assistance from the capital of the proprietors, that I believe they derive more benefit from it than if it were their own. There are no gentlemen farmers here, the land being let to the cultivators by the proprietors, as was formerly the case in the Highlands, each farm containing from two to six or more families, according to its size, the conditions of set being, I believe, fixed by law. At all events, the same prevails all over the country, and no raising of rents is ever known. The conditions are, that the cultivators give the proprietor half the produce of the farm after deducting all expenses; and the proprietor has to pay all taxes and government imposts, besides supplying all the horses and cattle necessary for the working of the farm, for the money invested in which he receives no interest; so that the farmers may be said to have at least two-thirds of the net produce of the land. If such a law had been made for the Highlands (and it would be but common justice, considering the condition of the people, when the southrons began to go thither) the people now would be in a very different condition to what they are.'

"It might be worth while to inquire whether something tending in the same direction could not be effected in this country also, by way of obviating in part, at least, the poverty, with the consequent misery and disease overtaking so many of our wretched crofters and cottars, and, exacting, by force of an act of Parliament, so much from those who are more fortunate in the share they possess of the good things of this

Memoirs of C. J. Fox (whom he accompanied to the continent), says of himself and his illustrious friend—"Had we travelled through the Netherlands predisposed to depreciate and condemn every thing *Catholic*, how much would our enjoyment have been diminished? The golden harvest would have waved less luxuriantly, the people would have been despised, and their excellent husbandry and domestic virtues been undervalued. Had we, again, disliked *Presbyterianism*, much of Holland would have lost its charm, animated as it is by commerce, and yet breathing the air, and having the port of a republic. Religious antipathy is the most withering sentiment which corrodes the mind, more bitter than envy, more deep than hatred, and more permanent than revenge—it distorts history, perverts facts, and can be fully gratified only by extermination. Through the fertile and happy countries which we passed, I saw much to delight and to instruct,—saw their agriculture flourishing, their houses comfortable, and their people possessing much of the solid enjoyments of life. I asked no one was he a Catholic, or a Presbyterian, or a Lutheran:—if every one was hospitable and friendly it would have been base to pry into the interior of his mind, and require

world. The Italians have, no doubt, a vast advantage in their fine climate and soil, and their method seems to be humane and beneficial in its operations."

There is something like truth here, and an ample refutation of the many calumnies published by interested and bigoted tourists against Italy and the Italians. How every thinking man must be amused to see Mr. Macaulay (who must know better) striving to prove the superiority of Protestantism, by calling on his readers to compare the country around Rome to that around Edinburgh, or by contrasting the *wealth* of Bologna, the *learned*, with that of Glasgow, the *seat* and *centre* of Scottish commerce!

the credentials of faith to qualify him for civil society.”—(*Trotter's Mem. of C. J. Fox*, p. 180.)

There is here much common sense and much sound philosophy, which we beg to recommend to the attention of our home-bred railers against Catholic countries, about which they know nothing, save from the one-sided reports of ignorant and prejudiced travellers.”

Ere we finish this part of our task, we must notice yet another objection to the creed of Rome. It is the most baseless of all, and yet much stress is laid upon it by all ranks hostile to Catholicism. The objection we allude to is taken from the state and condition of the sister isle. “Look at Ireland,” says the enemy of Rome; “see what Popery has made that fine country; how ignorant, how poor, how vicious, how degraded are its people!”

We are as willing as our opponents to admit that there is much wrong in Ireland, but we deny that Catholicism is the cause of the accumulated evils under which that country groans; we lay them, with much more reason, at the door of Protestantism. Ireland, be it remarked, has a Catholic population, without being, in reality, a Catholic country. It is a Catholic province of a great Protestant empire. Whatever it is, in a moral point of view, that Protestantism has made it, for there Protestant influence has been long dominant. Its laws, its magistrates for the most part, its established and endowed clergy, its principal landowners, are Protestant; it is under Protestant control, governed by Protestants, and with an eye to the promotion of Protestant interests. It is true in Ireland the peasantry and the middle classes are, in the main, Catholic; but by sheer physical force they are kept down under Protestant ascendancy. All in Ireland tends to advance, or is meant, at least, to advance, the cause of Protestan-

tism, that is, of the minority. This is an unnatural state of things, a state of violence, destructive, alike of all peace and prosperity. Now to this trampling on the many for the benefit of the few, we may fairly attribute all the ills of Ireland. The Irish Catholics, we are told, are ignorant: perhaps so, but then they were prohibited by law, not long ago, to acquire knowledge. They are poor: but they were plundered and stript of their wealth. They are reckless of life and prone to shed blood: but who ever valued the life of others when misery rendered one's own a burden? who ever scrupled to shed the blood of the armed invader, of the plunderer, and of the tyrant? The ignorance, the poverty, the contempt of life, so readily laid to the charge of Ireland, are all the fruits, the sad results, not of Irish "Popery," but of bad English policy, of misgovernment on the part of Protestant England. To evolve this truth and to set it in its true light, we may avail ourselves of the labours of an Irish Protestant writer, Mr. Bell, in his "Life of Canning." The evidence of Mr. Bell, who is, we think, an Irishman and a Protestant, is beyond suspicion on this subject, for he cannot be supposed inimical to his own church, or unduly favourable to ours. How well our author can trace the evils of Ireland to their real source. "Every person," says he, "who has taken the trouble to investigate the subject, has been compelled, by the force of evidence, to refer the evils under which Ireland labours, in the past and in the present, not to any incomprehensible waywardness in the people, or mysterious malediction in the climate, but to a long course of blind misgovernment." To this misgovernment Mr. Bell attributes the whole host of Irish grievances. "The social disorganization," he tells us, "of sects and parties, is a legacy of that misgovernment; the curse of absenteeism is a legacy of

that misgovernment; the double curse of sub-letting and middlemen, a consequence flowing out of absenteeism and other causes, themselves the effects of misgovernment; want of profitable employment, a consequence of want of capital, produced by this conspiracy of impoverishing circumstances; low wages, thinly scattered at broken intervals, over seven millions of working men, a consequence of scanty employment; periodical famine, periodical typhus, constant misery, constant complaint, constant outrage, hopelessness, and indifference to life, the natural results of these complicated and ravelled grievances; all having their common source in an infatuated system of misgovernment; prolonged in defiance of experience, in defiance of justice, and in defiance of the general safety."

In all this there is no charge made against Catholicism, no portion of Ireland's many evils is here traced to it. Our able and intelligent author discovers them all, not in the *religious*, but in the *civil*, history of his country. He observes, with much truth, that "the historical origin of Irish evils has been acknowledged by every politician who understood the problem involved in them. "It is impossible," observes a recent writer of great intelligence, "to form a fair and impartial judgment on Irish affairs, or to arrive at sound conclusions upon present political questions, without knowing and keeping studiously in view the whole course of Irish history."—"Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland," page 14.) Mr. Pitt bore testimony to the chronic character of the disease, when he stated, in the debate on the Union, that, for one hundred years, England had pursued a narrow, jealous, and selfish policy towards Ireland; although he might have extended his range a little further, like Bushe, who declared, that for centuries Great Britain had kept

Ireland down, shackled her commerce, paralysed her exertions, despised her character, and ridiculed her pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. ‘She never conceded a point to you,’ said that brilliant orator, on the floor of the Irish House of Commons, when this question of the Union came before it; ‘she never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favour which was not reluctantly distilled.’”

Not only does Mr. Bell accuse England of misgoverning Ireland, he shows, moreover, in what that misgovernment consisted:—“The policy, invariably applied to Ireland was the policy of fear. Nothing in the way of justice was ever done to the country, unless there happened to be a pressure of some kind which rendered it also a matter of prudence. The experiment of justice, for its own sake, was never yet tried upon Ireland; whenever justice did chance to take that direction, it was for the sake of England. There was some fear of disturbances at home, some suspicions of a descent from abroad, some want to be supplied—money or soldiers—and then Ireland was sure to be smiled upon by British justice, but never till then. On the other hand, when England was prosperous and secure, Ireland was coerced: her conflicting interests set up against each other, her wrongs reopened, her prejudices excited, her old animosities exasperated anew, and every means resorted to, through the intricate machinery of bad government, to break her spirit and repress her advancement. It was not an idle figure of speech by which Grattan described these crimes of choice and virtues of necessity, when he said, that ‘England’s weakness was Ireland’s strength.’”

The evils resulting from this mode of acting

towards Ireland are so great and so numerous—the conduct of England towards Ireland has been so atrocious as to surpass the conception and exceed the belief of the great majority of the English nation. “Nine-tenths of the people of England,” continues Mr. Bell, “are ignorant of the demoralising atrocities which have been inflicted in their name, upon Ireland; and the remaining tenth do not believe in them.....The Englishman of to-day sees in Ireland the sister Cinderella (*in her servitude*) of the British Islands, and thinks that it is her own fault she should be such a thankless drudge. He sees her in serge and coarse stockings (or none); while her more fortunate sisters are flaunting in lace and satin; and attributes all to sloth and poverty of spirit. He has not witnessed the slow, harassing, unintermitting process of domestic slavery, by which she has been reduced to this; he only sees the miseries of her condition, and satisfies his sense of justice by blaming her who *suffers* them. He sees in Ireland, fine harbours and no ships; spacious docks, grand custom-houses, and no commerce, a region proverbial for fertility, and a starving population. He thinks that these anomalies must be the fault of the people themselves: as if *that*, were it true, would not be the greatest anomaly of all.

“To suppose that any race of human beings would voluntarily starve in the midst of plenty; go voluntarily half clad in the midst of their own wool; wilfully lie down to sleep on stones and dream of devouring them, when they might have pillows and visions of roast pig if they would; is a stretch of fancy that considerably transcends even the poetical faculty of the Irish themselves.”—*Bell's Life of Canning*, pp. 154-5-7-8.

Thus writes an Irishman and a Protestant on the

wants and woes of his country. That he has traced them to their source, and fastened the guilt connected with them on the real culprit we have not the slightest doubt. Nothing but the blindness of insane bigotry can attribute the calamities of the sister country to its Catholicism: were it not for the salutary influence of that Divine creed, bad as the condition of Ireland is, it would be still worse, and the most enlightened friends of that country are well aware of the fact.

We now think we have said enough to convince all reasonable men that the Catholic faith is not accountable for such physical evils as exist, or which Protestants may suppose to exist in some Catholic countries; for the decline of some states, or for the occasional eclipses to which literature and the arts are every where subject. We flatter ourselves, too, we have proved early Protestantism to have been hostile, decidedly injurious to the cause of letters and civilization. As the Reformation gained ground the condition of literature sank lower and lower for nearly a century and a-half,—because, to use the words of a much-lauded friend of that Revolution, “the attention of the literary world was turned away for more than a century (after the Reformation) into miserable disputes about dogmas and confessions of faith.”—*Chas. Villers*.

On the other hand, during that period, as before it, Catholicism, as far as the times would suffer it to do so, held on its even course, advancing daily in the path of social progress—not, indeed, founding temporal kingdoms, not involving itself in commercial speculations; but performing the great duty entrusted to it,—that is teaching divine truth, inculcating pure morality, so improving the things of time as to make them subservient to those of eternity.

Its perseverance and success in this noble work have elicited from a talented living enemy the following admission, with which we shall conclude these remarks—"We do a signal wrong to Romanism, then, in blaming it for neglecting what it never professed to aspire at or accomplish. What it had a mission to do it did; it gave Europe the religious leaven, which, for a thousand years, was the vigorous source of its growth and its glory."

CHAPTER V.

THE UNDUE EXALTATION AND ABUSE OF THE BIBLE LEAD
TO IMMORALITY.

OUR fourth charge against the Reformation is one of a most serious nature. We hold it to have been subversive of morality.

It should have been the object of those men who brought about the change in religion in the sixteenth century, to improve the moral conduct of those who adopted their doctrines. The proud title of *Reformers* to which they laid claim, signified as much. They changed much, however, without greatly improving anything, unless the wrong way. Indeed we are prepared to prove that the Reformed party were much worse men after the Reformation than before it. We may begin by Luther himself, who is honest enough to tell us what he was when yet an humble Catholic monk, and what he afterwards became when he appeared in the world as the apostle of a new and improved creed.

Martin Luther was a man of strong passions: these, however, with the aids which Catholicism so abundantly supplied, he was able to keep in check during the stormy years of youth and early manhood. At the dawn of his own Reformation there was no grievous stain on his moral character, and he enjoyed the reputation of a very able and tolerably good man. The work of Reform, however, seems to have had a bad effect on him, for, while endeavouring to correct

what seemed amiss in others, he forgot himself. His pride, and his other unruly passions, could now no longer be controlled. "When I lived" says he, himself, "in my monastery, I punished my body with watching, and fasting, and prayer. I observed my vows of chastity, of poverty, and obedience. Whatever I did, I did with singleness of heart; with good zeal, and for the glory of God: I feared grievously the last day; and was desirous to be saved, from the bottom of my heart."—*Ad. Gal.*

Such was Luther, the Catholic: now let us hear from his own lips what Luther, the Protestant, became—"I am burnt with the flames of my untamed flesh, I am mad, almost, with the rage of lust, and the desire of women. I, who ought to be fervent in spirit, am fervent in impurity, in sloth, etc. (Menz.) Relying on the strong foundation of my learning, I yield not in pride, either to emperor, king, prince or devil; no, not to the universe itself."—*Resp. ad Maled. Reg. Aug.*

The friends of the Reformation have sought to defend the fair fame of its mighty founder—they have toiled in vain; more honest than his admirers he knew his faults and acknowledged them: he went even so far that, according to Sleidan, his too partial historian, "he was so sensible of his own immorality, that he wished to be removed from the office of preaching."—(Book II., Anno 1520.)

Let no one imagine that, when Luther spoke thus of himself, his words were the offspring, the outpourings of Christian humility, or that he did himself any wrong; for, from the testimony of others, his friends and followers, it is but too clear that he uttered only the pure, unvarnished truth. While yet alive, and heading the Reforming party, Hospinian says of him, "Luther is a man absolutely furious; accustomed to combat the truth, not only

unjustly, but in contradiction to the suggestions of his own conscience." Ecolampadius, a brother Reformer, and well acquainted with his chief, declares him "to be puffed up with arrogance and pride; and seduced by Satan;" and, Zuinglius, who fell fighting for the new religion, speaking of its first apostle, says,—“Indeed, so great is the power which Satan possesses over Luther, that he seems to aim at the possession of the whole man.” Even his own spiritual son, his beloved disciple, Melancthon, thus bewails the faults and failings of his master,—“I tremble when I consider the passions of Luther,—passions as violent as the outrages of Hercules, of Philoctetes, and of Marius.” These passions of Luther, which Catholicism had enabled him to subdue, broke out with irresistible force when he once consented to lay aside its holy restraints; and hence those excesses which ever have been and will ever continue to be the scandal of the Reformation, and which will prove to the most remote posterity, that it could not have been the work of God.

Great, grievous, and lamentable as were the moral deficiencies of Luther's character, there was in the man a dash of openness, frankness, and kind-heartedness which went some length in redeeming his faults. He became, indeed, a bad man, but he never quite parted company with certain good dispositions, born with him and early cultivated in the solitude of the cloister. Of John Calvin, his rival, it is but justice to say, that, in his whole composition, there was not an atom of goodness. From his early youth stained with the worst of crimes, to his last hour spent in horror and despair, his career was one of unmixed and unmitigated wickedness. Bucer says of him, that he was “a mere mad dog; a malevolent man, judging of men by the measure of his love and

hatred for them." Volmar characterises him as "violent and perverse," and Schusselburge informs us, "horrible things are objected to Calvin, in public writings, concerning his lasciviousness; his sundry abominable vices; and his sodomitical lusts." "And it was," continues the same author, "in punishment of these, and of his profane doctrines, that the rod of the Divine justice fell so heavily upon him at his death: for he died in despair, blaspheming God."—*In Theo. Calv. lib. II.*

The third apostle of the Reformation, Zuinglius, was scarcely less distinguished by his zeal in the cause of the new religion, and scarcely less famous for his immoral life than the two whom we have already mentioned. Like them, too, he is his own accuser, "Hitherto I have found that the gift of chastity is denied me; and I have burnt, O shame! so greatly, that I have committed many things indecently."—(Ep. ad Remp. Helv.) Again, writing to the Bishop of Constance, he candidly confesses his own crimes and those of his colleagues: "the deeds of the flesh," says he, "have rendered us infamous in the sight of the churches." For these and other passages illustrative of the characters of the Reformers, see Dr Fletcher's *GUIDE TO THE TRUE RELIGION*, p. 309, 10, 11, &c.

Such were the clerical apostles of the Reformation; very unfit instruments, one would imagine, for improving the morals of degenerate Christians and re-establishing among men the reign of Christ. They had lay coadjutors in the good work: it is worth while to examine what sort of men they were. Of these the first, by his literary talents, was undoubtedly Ulrich de Hutten. He paved the way for such a Reformation as Luther and his friends could bring about, by publishing one of the most obscene and disgusting books ever penned; it is

known under the name of "*Epistolæ Obscurorum Vivorum*"—"Letters of Obscure Men." Here he pours out torrents of physical filth against the ancient church and its ministers, especially the regular clergy, whom, on account of their virtues, he held in abomination. He wielded with equal success the sword and the pen in the cause of the Reformation, practising the virtues which he preached. His life and his books were both exceedingly wicked; he is infinitely more filthy than the three most filthy writers in our language; Swift, Sterne, and Smollett, rolled into one would not suffice to make an Ulrich de Hutten. The reader will not be surprised to hear that he died at an early age of a foul and shameful disorder. He expired in obscurity and much agony at Ufnau, an island in the Lake of Zurich, in 1523, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The writings of this unhappy man contributed vastly to the success of the Reformation. He was its lay apostle—alas! how unapostolic were his life and death!

The abettors of the Reformation in the higher ranks of life—among the princes and electors of Germany, and even those among them who were seated on royal thrones, were not less unlike the "godly" work they undertook than Ulrich de Hutten. The Elector of Saxony, Luther's immediate sovereign, became a reformer to possess himself of the church lands and the wealth of the convents. The Landgrave of Hesse renounced the olden creed, which denied him more than one wife at a time, and adopted the more compliant tenets of Luther and his friends which sanctioned polygamy. Gustavus of Sweden, openly and avowedly embraced the new doctrines, and established them in his kingdom for the sole purpose of enriching the crown at the expense of the church. He dealt with her sacred

treasures as men generally deal with their own private fortune. His neighbour, the King of Denmark, had no better motives for encouraging Protestantism in his states, while he himself remained a Catholic, at least in name. While, thus, avarice, and pride, and lust, urged the various smaller potentates of the north to patronise the Reformation, the more powerful King of England, Henry VIII., a prey to all these vices at once, became, in due time, the most zealous Reformer of the age. He was, as all the world knows, a monster on the throne; and in his person the foulest passions reigned supreme over the noble people of England. He changed their religion that he might more freely indulge his insatiable lusts. Alluding to the demise of this prince, a living Scottish author, nowise inimical to the Reformation, thus characterises him: "In the next year, the profuse, rapacious, and tyrannical Henry VIII., of England, closed a reign and a life which had been eminent only for political irregularity and domestic oppression—for cruelty and barbarity—to which the English submitted with amazing passiveness."—*Grant's Memoirs of Kirkaldy of Grange*, p. 55.

The leading Reformers in Scotland were in secret and strict league with Henry VIII. of England, whose tools they were, and whose base and selfish policy against the temporal and spiritual interests of their native country they favoured to the utmost of their power. Speaking of them, the author, from whom we have borrowed the character of the English sovereign, says, "in the days of Sir William Kirkaldy, Scotland was filled with selfish, furious, and bigoted leaders in war and theology, whose hearts were fired by religious fanaticism and military ferocity"....Mary (queen) was peculiarly unfortunate in living at the period of the Reformation—an event

which might not have happened in her time, had not the cupidity of the Scottish barons been excited by the hope of acquisitions from the plunder of the church. For many a gloomy year after that event Scotland was one vast arena of ambitious intrigue, and religious animosity, which the clergy fostered to the utmost, and of which the detestable policy of England made a cruel and fatal use.”—(Mem. of Kirkaldy, pref. p. vi.) The first great blow struck by the Scottish Reformers was that which, by a cruel and barbarous death, deprived Scotland of its ablest and most honest statesman, Cardinal Beatoun. To this foul act its perpetrators were driven, not by the dictates of pure religion, or by disinterested patriotism, but by “the most ferocious fanaticism, by the basest mercenary motives, and most implacable revenge.”—(*Ib.* p. 39). The crime of the murdered prelate consisted in his unshaken fidelity to his creed, and his noble resolve to maintain the honour and independence of Scotland. “Having obtained,” says Mr. Grant, “a complete ascendancy in the councils of Arran (then regent of Scotland for Queen Mary), he broke all the treaties with England which he justly deemed no less injurious to the interests of Scotland than to those of the Romish church,” (p. 22.) Beatoun died a martyr to his creed and his country: had he betrayed them, as did so many of his contemporaries, he might by his talents and influence, have long reigned over the land which was watered with his blood. His death is a foul blot on the Reformation which no length of time can ever efface.* It is now viewed in this light even by the enemies of Catholicism. “Contemplating this barbarous deed,” says Mr. Grant, “with the horror

* The death of the Cardinal, and the cruel mode of that death, was ever a subject of merriment to John Knox. Better

which it naturally excites, the great courage and conduct of the perpetrators fail to excite our admiration."...."That 'godly fact,' as Knox exultingly calls it, had no sooner been committed, than the rage of these Reformers was extended to the inanimate remains of the Cardinal. Pitscottie, and others, record an ensuing episode, too offensive to be repeated, but very indicative of the spirit which animated the vassals of Kirkaldy and Rothes" (the leading conspirators). "These," exclaims Knox, with a triumph bordering on impiety, '*These are the works of our God*, whereby he would admonish the tyrants of this earth,'" (p. 43). The murder of Beatoun was the signal of other excesses: the men, whose guilty hands had shed his blood, exulting in their successful vengeance, and animated by that inborn love of tumult and daring for which the Scots of those days were so eminently distinguished, broke out into yet more open rebellion. They laid the city of St. Andrews, and the whole adjacent country, under blackmail; and the tenor of the lives of some of them became one continued scene of riot and debauchery, "oppressing all the country," saith

and abler men, otherwise hostile to Beatoun, viewed it in a very different light. Alluding to it, Lindsay says,

"As for the cardinal, I grant,
He was the man we well might want;
God will forgive it soon.
But of a truth, the sooth to say,
Although the loon be well away,
The deed was foully done."

Here the poet has evidently the advantage of the preacher. "John Knox," says Mr. Grant, "appeared always to approve of the assassination of an enemy." According to that enlightened divine, Rizzio was slain by those "whom God had raised up to do the same." —(Mem. of Kirk, p. 149.) Thank God, Catholicism never taught such doctrines.

Pitscottie, “with spoiling of goods and ravishing of women, notwithstanding the manifold admonitions of those godly men who were with them. Knox severely reprimanded their profligacy, and attributed to it the violent ends to which some of their lives came; and, indeed, it is rather remarkable, that nearly all of the conspirators perished by violence. They plundered, wasted, and ravaged the whole adjacent parishes.—(*Ib.* p. 48). Such indeed were then, and afterwards, the outrageous excesses of these men, and so unscrupulously did they indulge in every kind of iniquity that “those champions of religious regeneration became regarded only in the light of libertine desperadoes.”—*Ib.* p. 54.

Such were the patrons of the Reformation; the men to whom, after its apostles, Luther, Calvin, Knox, &c., it owed its ascendancy in northern Europe. That the former were urged on by avarice and ambition, lust and pride, and the latter by those base passions which in every age have given birth to heresy, is not now denied by any candid historian. Alas! what sad havoc was made on the morals of the people at large by the united efforts and scandalous example of these unfortunate men. Every where the new creed introduced new crimes, and altered for the worse the whole face of society. We must dwell for a short time on this sad subject, in the hope of convincing such as boast of the “glorious Reformation.”

The evil passions of evil men, long before the dawn of Protestantism, were eager to effect such a Reformation as it brought in its train. “If,” says Mr. Digby, “we attentively examine the writings of the early innovators, we shall seldom be at a loss to determine from what principle their hostility proceeded. ‘*Le Songe du Vergier*,’ which was written

in the reign of King Charles V., of France, contains a long dialogue, or dispute, between a knight and clerk, in which the knight, with great learning, produces almost every objection which the Reformers afterwards advanced against the ecclesiastical discipline and order. At length, towards the conclusion of the work, we come to a chapter thus entitled: 'The knight proves, by many reasons, that it seems more expedient for the maintenance of order and for the commonwealth, that a man should have more than one wife.' Here the mystery is explained, and we can understand his objection to the goods of the church, to the life of nuns and friars, and to fasting and penance, and to living, as he says, against nature—"contre nature."—(*Morus*, p. 100-1.)

Sooth to say, the leading Reformers were among the first to deplore the ruin of morality among their followers. Knox attributed the misfortunes and the untimely deaths of the murderers of Cardinal Beaton to the number and enormity of their iniquities. "To aggravate the increasing distress" of the garrison shut up with Knox in St. Andrew's after the death of its archbishop, "the pestilence found its way among them; many died, and all were dismayed. Walter Melville, one of their bravest leaders, fell deadly sick, while watching, warding, and scanty fare were rapidly wearing out the rest; and John Knox dinned continually in their ears that their present perils were the just reward of their former corrupt lives and licentiousness, and reliance on England rather than heaven."—(*Mem. of Sir W. Kirkaldy*, p. 59.)

Erasmus, at first an early friend of the Reformation, was estranged from it and confirmed in the ancient faith by witnessing the sad effects of the new creed on those who most warmly embraced it. "Who," says he, "are those gospel people? Look

around you, and show me one who has become a better man ; show me one who, once a glutton, is now turned sober ; one who, before violent, is now meek ; one who, before avaricious, is now generous. On the other hand I can show you many who have become worse by the change—passionate, vain, spiteful as serpents, and lost to the feelings of human nature,—I speak from experience.”—(Morus, p. 101.) The arch Reformer himself was the loudest in condemnation of the Reformation as exemplified in the lives of its adherents,—“Men,” says Luther, “are more revengeful, avaricious, and much worse than they were under Popery.”—(Luth. in Postil. Evang.) In his more sober moments, Luther could deplore as sincerely as any Catholic, the lamentable results of his Reformation. “I would not be astonished,” says he, “if God should open at length the gates and windows of hell, and snow or hail down upon us devils, or rain down on our heads fire and brimstone, or bury us in a fiery abyss, as he did Sodom and Gomorrah. Had Sodom and Gomorrah received the gifts which have been granted to us—had seen our visions and heard our instructions—they would yet be standing. They were a thousand times less culpable than Germany, for they had not heard the word of God from their preachers. And we have received and heard it—we do nothing but rise up against God.....Since the downfall of Popery, and the cessation of its excommunications and spiritual penalties, the people have learned to despise the word of God. They care no longer for the churches : they have ceased to fear and honour God.”—(Luther Wake-Alten, Tom. III., p. 519.) How well the unhappy Luther could appreciate even yet, after years of revolt, the real merits of that faith which he had betrayed and abandoned !

Calvin could not conceal from himself, nor was he bold enough to deny that, as far as pure morality was concerned, the Reformation was something more than a failure. He asks with shame and sorrow “of the thousands who renounced Popery and seemed eagerly to embrace the gospel, how few have amended their lives! Indeed, what else did the greater part pretend to, than by shaking off the yoke of superstition, to give themselves more liberty, and to plunge into every kind of lasciviousness.”—Cal. I., vi. de Scand.) Melancthon, a better and a more sincere man than either of the two last named, was heard to say, with tears in his eyes,—“Indeed, speaking modestly, any other state of things, in any other age, exhibits the beauty of an age of gold, when it is compared to the confusion to which the Reformers have given rise.”—(Ep. Lib. IV.) It was to this “confusion” and its accompaniments that Musculus was alluding when he says,—“If any one wish to see a multitude of knaves, disturbers of the public peace, etc., etc., let him go to one of their cities.” Equally strong is the assertion of Hornius, another Protestant of deserved repute. “In England, as well as in all other countries, the introduction of the Reformation was the introduction of division, of discord and disorder.” And, a man of much candour, and more learning, alluding to the alleged superior enlightenment introduced by the new creed, remarks, “Assuredly if the new learning reformed the creed, it deformed the morals of its professors.”

After quoting most of these passages so painfully illustrative of the evil workings of the Reformation, Mr. Kenelm Digby thus comments on its sad doings with much feeling and genuine Christian philosophy. “Let the reader,” says Mr. Digby, “consult

Mr. Butler's book of the Roman Catholic Church for other testimonies to this truth concerning an event which was no subject of surprise to the men who watched the progress of the religious innovators: for, in fact, they could not reasonably have expected any other result. The impartial historian will eventually be driven to the confession that the whole of this revolution proceeded upon loose principles of morality, or rather, indeed, proceeded in opposition to the eternal fundamental principles of virtue and justice. He will have to record that it required breach of vows, contempt of solemn engagements, sophistical evasions of duty, the most arbitrary and false interpretation of promises, mental reservation in taking solemn oaths, and in the application of ancient funds; the most open robbery and contempt of right; the forcible seizure of property, destruction of the laws of the land, reviling of superiors, reviling of benefactors, reviling of the dead, the desecrating of what was consecrated to the divine service, a disregard of truth in the admission of evidence and in the perpetuating of charges by solemn monuments and public ordinances after they have been recognized as false, a disregard of the old principle of generosity and humanity in adopting measures to favour the success of the modern system from its commencement down to what may be stated as the last instance, that of the famous Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, Morton, Williams, and Potter, Bishops of Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, who advised King Charles I. to send his faithful friend, and, at all events, his obedient minister, Strafford, to die the death of a traitor. He will have to remark that it destroyed the whole principle of legislative justice by making laws to decree that the observance of the ancient religion was high treason, and then by

inflicting the punishment of traitors on those who adhered to it: that it justified rebellion on the grounds of religion, in the reign of Mary: that it acted upon the principle which makes human ordinances of equal weight with the natural and divine law; that it sanctioned the doctrine of the inutility of constant prayer, the inutility or rather superstition of penitence and abstinence, of the impossibility of continence; of civil powers being the judges of religion, of civil laws being the origin of duties, of the sovereignty of the people, and all the monstrous conclusions of necessity flowing from that principle, besides establishing that the Christian church had lapsed into idolatry "for eight hundred years or more;" that it falsified the promise of our Saviour, and, therefore, weakened all sense of religion in the minds of men, excepting such enthusiasts as had lost the power of drawing a legitimate inference."—*Morus*, p. 102.

Here we have laid open to view, in a few short sentences, the manifold sources of that deluge of iniquity which overwhelmed that portion of Christendom where the principles of the Reformation were destined to prevail. Vainly would the friends of the new religion seek an apology for the crimes of their fathers in the demoralization so undeniably prevalent, in all parts, before the days of Luther, and ere he yet raised the standard of revolt. We admit to a certain extent the evils of these times, and we deplore them now as the servants of God deplored them then, and sought to remedy them; but we maintain that the worst, the most crying of these evils and scandals were aggravated, multiplied, and perpetuated, by what assumed the proud name of the "Reformation." It professed to alter and improve the state of society—it did, indeed, alter

and improve every thing, but always for the worse. So that morality was at a lower ebb after than before the Reformation, and the most Protestanized countries have, all along, been the most demoralized. The change of religion had scarcely been completed in Scotland, when already, as one of our living authors remarks, it "was distinguished only for the insolence and intolerance of its churchmen, and the ferocity of its turbulent and brutal barons, *who had become absolutely barbarised*,"* and had lost every trace of gentleness, of knighthood, and of dignity, in the storm of war and devastation which ended with the downfall of the Church of Rome."—(Memoirs of Sir W. Kirkaldy, p. 141.) Such, and so early was the harvest reaped by the "dark-browed Reformers" in Scotland.

* Nothing so strongly evinces the state of barbarism to which Protestantism reduced its first disciples in Scotland than the following fact, of which even a Parisian revolutionary rabble would feel ashamed. The Protestant Lords having got possession of Queen Mary's person by the meanest treachery, they treated her with much cruelty, and held her a strict prisoner in Lochleven Castle. "Four days after they had sent her to Lochleven," says Mr. Grant, "some of those disinterested warriors, whose only aims were the safety of the Reformed religion, and a government formed on a solid basis, *pillaged* the palace of Holyrood, like a fortress carried by storm, bearing off all its valuable moveables, seized the jewels of the Queen, and melted down the whole of her plate, carrying off even a beautiful cupboard of great antiquity. While this traitorous sack was going on in one part of the edifice, Glencairn and his vassals were as busily employed in another, destroying the magnificent chapel royal, which they despoiled of its rich furniture, stripped of its ornaments, and, after defacing every thing within their reach, left a perfect ruin."—*Mem. of Kirkaldy*, p. 183.

When, in 1848, Louis Philippe fled from the Tuilleries, some base men would fain have secreted and carried off some of its rich spoils, they were unmercifully chastised by the indignant populace. The Scotch Reformers were less scrupulous!!

So notoriously bad were the principles of the early Reformers in France, and so monstrously were their morals at variance with the gospel as understood by the ancient church, and, indeed, by every Christian community, that a celebrated controversialist of the seventeenth century struck by the fact, adduced it as a clear and satisfactory proof that, the men who so taught and so acted were not of God, and were not sent by him to reform his church. He was justly horrified at the calumnies which they so unscrupulously invented and circulated against the church which they had left, and in whose bosom they had been brought up. Poorly as they might, after their secession think of that church, they might, he imagined, have still as much regard for it as St. Paul had for the synagogue when he embraced Christianity. Now, St. Paul ever spoke with reverence of those whom he had left behind—he did not assail by reproaches and unjust accusations his former brethren; on the contrary, he would, to save them, most willingly have become anathema for their sake. The apostles of the Reformation, however, were guided by a different spirit. They exaggerated the real abuses which every one deplored; and when that was not enough, they imputed to the church crimes of which she never was guilty. Their calumnies against her were of various kinds; sometimes they charged her with teaching doctrines which she never taught, at other times they passed off as her doctrines the mere opinions of some of the less wise among her children. Then they declaimed against her for maintaining, as articles of faith, errors and erroneous tenets, which, on further examination, they found to be not, indeed, errors, but truths, held always by all Christians, and which even they themselves could no longer deny. Add to this, that the Reformers, after pouring out torrents of abuse

against the ancient church, were wont to turn round, and as lustily abuse each other. These sectaries never said anything more insulting, or more bitter against Catholicism, than they said in word and writing against each other. Their very patriarchs were not spared—Luther was styled a tyrant and a madman by some of his brethren, and he most unceremoniously handed them over to the common enemy of mankind, to be dealt with according to his tender mercies. All this appeared so shocking, so unchristian, and ungodlike to the French author that he deems it conclusive against the Reformers and the Reformation. We heartily concur in the verdict.—See *Préjugés Légitimes contre les Calvinistes*, Chap. III., XI., XIII.

This plague-spot of immorality, so prominent on the face of the Reformation in its infancy, so far from being effaced by the lapse of time, became deeper, broader, and darker, as years rolled on. At this very time the purely Protestant countries, after three centuries have gone by, are more immoral than countries purely Catholic. The Scandinavian kingdoms, where the old faith is not so much as tolerated, are a sink of vice, and their cities are so many Sodoms and Gomorrahs, when compared with the Tyrolese towns and country, which, to use the language of a German Protestant, “the taint of the Reformation” has never reached. Scottish ecclesiastical writers are wont to heap all sort of abuse on the ancient creed, while the impartial historian remarks that the change from it to Presbyterianism did not improve the morals of the country. Speaking of the Earl of Mar, Regent of Scotland after the death of Lennox, during the troubled minority of James VI., the author of the *Memoirs of Sir William Kirkaldy* says,—“Amid the fierce

dissensions which rent his (Mar's) native country, he had long been distinguished by a high character for moderation, disinterestedness, and honour, *which in the rapacious and profligate times succeeding the Reformation, were no common qualities.*"—Page 288.

It was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the English people indulged too freely in intoxicating liquors. Drunkenness is now the national sin*

* On the national vice of drunkenness, as compared with the sobriety of the Spaniards, we have a pious homily from the pen of a worthy minister of the Kirk of Scotland,—“The Spaniard is among the very soberest and most temperate of men. He abhors drunkenness—he loathes a drunkard. There is a story in ancient times of a Spaniard throwing himself into the fire, in the extravagance of his rage, on being insulted with the opprobrious name of drunkard. What must these men think of Protestantism, and of the blessings of a free gospel, judging from what they see of Protestants, and from their conduct in this particular? Britain is gloriously and most efficiently (?) engaged in the truly Christian enterprise of circulating God's Word, and evangelizing the world..... But how do British men recommend that blessed gospel? How do they prove its value to those who have it not? There are upwards of 30,000 British soldiers, and nearly 900 British civilians, in Gibraltar. Does the Spaniard learn to reverence Protestantism and honour the Bible from the conduct of these Bible Protestants? Do the life and conversation of our soldiers and our merchants reflect credit on their religion? on that religion which saith, —“Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.” “Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy:” “No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.” Alas! alas! little do our countrymen reflect what a fearful mass of iniquity they are heaping on their own souls, not only by breaking God's known commandments themselves, but by teaching others so to do—not only by violating the gospel precept themselves, but by dishonouring the gospel in the eyes of others! Many a time and often, when returning late at night from the south, or enjoying a quiet walk at even-tide among the sweet groves of the Alamonda, have I had my meditations interrupted by the

of the British people ; and the Scotch, more than the English, or the Irish, are the slaves of this debasing vice. We are told by Digby, that from the entry of the Romans until the introduction of the modern heresies “the sobriety of the English was remarked all over Europe.” The very reverse of this is the case now. Indeed the animal propensities of the early teachers and disciples of Protestantism are discernible in their posterity at the present day ; and, we may say, with much truth, of many modern saints, what was said against their forefathers three centuries ago. “Call you this the gospell, when men seke onlie for to provide for their bellies, and care not a groate though their soules go to helle ? Doe you not see how every one catcheth and pulleth from the church what thei can ?”—(Warton, *His. IV.*, p. 163). This is analogous to what is said of the rapaciousness of the times in which the Earl of Mar’s moderation was a brilliant exception, and remarkable as such.

In Germany, the birth-place of the Reformation, it is now admitted that that great revolution was purchased at too great a price ; and that it was not followed by those magnificent results promised by its apostles. On this all-important point Menzel speaks without hesitation a language that does honour to his candour—“The Reformation,” says he, “had, in its results, fallen far short of the anticipations cherished by the more lofty-minded among

broken song of some solitary drunkard, or the loud altercations of some party of military sots hastening to their barracks from some foul den of iniquity ; and how often have I felt doubly saddened on observing the well-known tartan waving in the wind as they staggered past.”—*Rev. W. Robertson’s Journal of a Clergyman*, p. 136.

its promoters. The church, instead of being generally and thoroughly reformed, had been but partially freed in the north from her external shackles, and internally, almost as deeply as ever enslaved; the new church was, like her elder sister, a prey to superstition and fanaticism; and modern scholastic controversy, belief in witchcraft and ghosts, and in involuntary works of grace, were, with the bloody persecution of heretics, the wretched results of a struggle that, for two hundred years, had drenched Europe in blood."—(Vol. II., p. 398). This sanguinary struggle benefited no class of society in any point of view, while, as we have already seen, it utterly demoralized the whole country; but the authors of this change in religion and their immediate successors were the principal sufferers. The clergy were completely enslaved by their patrons, the secular princes, who had seized and enriched themselves by seizing the church property. "Berne," says Menzel, "first complained of the servility, and of the consequent laxity of morals of the clergy dependent upon the upper classes," and great indeed must have been that servility, and deplorable that laxity of morals, which could ever reconcile educated men to the humiliations which Menzel informs us the Reformed clergy received at the hand of the secular princes. "The poor candidates," says that historian, "competed for the favour of the nobility, and, as the depravity of the courts gradually spread downwards, the Protestant clergy were exposed to the most unworthy treatment, serving as buffoons to their patrons, or as convenient husbands for their cast-off mistresses."—(Vol. II., p. 407.) Had these men not shaken off the salutary laws of the Catholic church they would have been spared the latter degradation.

The friends of the Reformation are wont to boast that by it the chains of Popish superstition were for ever broken—perhaps so ; but to these chains succeeded others as heavy and more galling ; in place of the alleged superstitions of Rome the new creed introduced others, darker in hue and of a more deadly nature. Menzel well observes—“ The power of Satan upon earth had long been an article of faith, but it was not until the Reformation that it became the general belief, and that attempts were made to exorcise spirits and to make use of demoniacal powers for the attainment of human aims. The studies of the humanists had led to a nearer acquaintance with the magic of the ancients, and had produced a sort of partiality for ancient heathen practices. *The principal source to these dark desires, however, lay in the Reformation.* The bolt launched by Luther against St. Peter’s chair at Rome, drove the faith of the times into two opposite extremes ; the soldier and the savant confessed the infidelity of the heathen philosopher, and the mass of the people was enslaved by the grossest superstition.”—Vol. II., p. 435.

Of all the Protestant creeds that of Luther has ever been distinguished as most inimical to sound morality. This patriarch of the Reformation was himself a notoriously “ *bon vivant*,” and to live Luther-like was, in Germany, synonymous with indulging in every excess ; and, for many a year after his death, the theologians of Tübingen, for the satisfaction of Everard Louis, Duke of Wurtemberg, “ carried on a violent dispute with the Dillingen Jesuits, whether the Catholic or the Lutheran faith was more advantageous for princes. The Tübingen chancellor, Pfaff, gained the victory by clearly demonstrating that no faith allowed more latitude to

princes than the Lutheran.”—(Vol. III., p. 23.) The reader may form some idea of this Lutheran latitude of faith when we inform him, on the authority of German historians, that Augustus of Saxony, who died in 1733, left three hundred and fifty-two children; and that the Margrave of Baden—Darlach, a contemporary prince, unable to keep an accurate account of his children, reckoned his wives and concubines to the number of one hundred and sixty. Menzel, who, among others, relates this astounding fact, calmly observes “that the scandal caused by this conduct, induced him, in 1722, to dismiss all *except* sixty or seventy of the most beautiful.”—(*Ibid.* p. 22). We do not mean to say that there were no scandals at the Catholic courts of Europe, and that the adherents of the olden creed were immaculate—far from it, but the church never approved of their aberrations, and the most guilty of them all were models of purity when compared with the petty princes to whose iniquities we have alluded.

At the very hour we are writing, as in all past times since the partial triumph of the Reformation, the countries in which it prevailed have been the most immoral in Europe. In proof of this we may advert to the fact so boldly stated, and so irrefragably proved by Mr. Laing, that Sweden, where Protestantism alone is tolerated, morality is at the lowest ebb. “It is,” says that matter-of-fact author, “a singular and embarrassing fact, that the Swedish nation, isolated from the mass of European people, and almost entirely agricultural or pastoral, having, in about 3,000,000 of individuals only 14,925 employed in manufactories, and these not congregated in one or two places, but scattered among 2,037 factories, having no great standing army or navy, no external commerce, no afflux of strangers, no consi-

derable city but one, and having schools and universities in a fair proportion, and a powerful and complete church establishment, undisturbed in its labours by sect or schism, is, notwithstanding, in a more demoralized state than any nation in Europe, more demoralized even than any equal portion of the dense manufacturing population of Great Britain. This is a very curious fact in moral statistics.”—(See Laing’s Notes of a Traveller.) Natives of Britain, in whose eyes, what they call, Sabbath-breaking is the greatest of crimes, are wont to expatiate on the frequent—too frequent, we admit,—desecration of the Lord’s day in some parts of France, and, perhaps, in certain other Catholic countries, and they thoughtlessly set down these profanations to the account of Catholicism itself. But let these men read attentively the narratives of Laing, Bremner, and other northern tourists and they will soon learn that the Sunday is better kept in the Catholic portions of Europe than in the Protestant. With the exception of Paris, and some of the other large towns, and, perhaps, here and there, some solitary country place where the dregs of the Revolution have been allowed to remain, there is, indeed, much respect paid to the Christian Sabbath. Whole communities keep these days with edifying devotion, while many individuals spend them mostly in prayer or in the performance of works of heavenly charity. On the other hand, Protestants admit that, in Geneva, and the North of Europe there is scarcely any Sunday at all. The bulk of our untravelled people know nothing of this, but the tourists we have mentioned, and others, have seen it, and can vouch for the accuracy of our statements.*

* Englishmen, going abroad, are great Sabbath-breakers. “This sin (of Sabbath-breaking) is chargeable on nine-tenths

To this we might add the lamentable state of drunkenness and impurity in which, beyond all other nations, the Danes and the Swedes—the latter particularly,—have long been sunk. Protestant Prussia, too, is a sink of vice. There, the Sabbath is most scandalously profaned, female chastity all but unknown, divorces a thing of daily occurrence, and dishonesty more frequently practised than in any German country. And these are the fruits of the Reformation, there where its apostles lived and died, and where, if at all, its results would have been, one would naturally imagine, most beneficial to mankind. But this portion of our task is peculiarly painful, and we hurry away as fast as we can from the further consideration of it.

In justice, however, to the cause, we must add a few words to show how detrimental to morality the change of religion has been in the island of saints. Perhaps, we cannot do this better than by holding up to view the demoralizing principles of those who have laid claim to extraordinary virtue, and who consider themselves, and have been considered by many besides, as the Reformers of the Reformation itself—the “unco-righteous,” so to speak, of the Anglican branch of the wide-spread Protestant tree. We allude to the Methodists. According to the late Rev. Sydney Smith, a tolerably good judge—their system goes to the root of sound morality. “The

of our travelling countrymen and country-women. Judging by their conduct one might suppose that they consider themselves absolved from all obligation to obey God's commandments the moment they cross the channel. Dances in Paris, gambling-tables in Germany, popish ceremonies and raree shows at Rome, bull fights at Cadiz or Seville, are the unfailing resources of Protestant Christians on that day, of which God hath said “Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.”—*Mr. Robertson's Journal of a Clergyman*, p. 105.

Methodists," says the rev. divine, "lay very little stress upon practical righteousness. They do not say to their people,—Do not be deceitful; do not be idle; get rid of your bad passions; or, at least, (if they do say these things) they say them very seldom. Not that they preach faith without works; for, if they told the people that they might rob and murder with impunity, the civil magistrate must be compelled to interfere with such doctrine: but they say a great deal about faith, and very little about works. What are commonly called the mysterious parts of our religion, are brought into the foreground much more than the doctrines which lead to practice; and this among the lowest of the community."—*Works of the Rev. S. Smith*, p. 96. Longman, etc., 1850.

While those portions of Europe which embraced the Reformation were being demoralized by it, as they evidently were, strange to say it was beneficial, although indirectly, to the cause of morality in those countries which, spurning it, adhered to Catholicism.* The progress of Luther, and his

* The superior morality of purely Catholic countries is generally admitted by all but the most despicable bigotry. Unwillingly enough Dr. Alexander admits this with regard to Switzerland. "There is," he says, "another respect in which, I have reason to believe, that the Romanist population of Switzerland have the advantage over the Protestant, and that is *in general morality*. Compared with their immediate neighbours in France and Italy,(?) the Swiss are, upon the whole, to be respected for their good conduct, in regard to the ordinary relations of life: but when the different cantons are compared among themselves in reference to this, the palm of superiority must, I understand, be accorded to the Catholic over the Protestant cantons, viewed, in both cases, as a whole." The superior morality of the Catholics in Switzerland, which the Doctor cannot deny, he endeavours to explain away in a manner not very creditable, in my opinion, to the cause of

followers, the sad ravages of schism and heresy, the bloody wars which they excited, by spreading universal alarm, added strength and numbers, and gave more than ordinary influence to that zealous and enlightened portion of the clergy and people, who never ceased in every age, to uplift their voice against abuses, and to call aloud for reform when and where it was most wanted. At first, the Reformers

Protestantism, which he advocates. Every where else, save in Switzerland, Protestants are, according to this learned pundit, much better men than their Catholic brethren. The system of the former has, he avers, a more moral tendency than that of the latter. "If, in Switzerland, therefore, this relation of the two systems is reversed, the fact must, in all fairness, be held as an exception to the general rule, to be accounted for by the influence of extraneous circumstances. In attempting to state what these circumstances are, we shall, probably, not greatly err, if we ascribe considerable weight to Helvetic simplicity and mountaineer integrity in the one case, and in the other, to the degrading influence of a light and lax scepticism pervading the community." "*This light and lax scepticism*" which Dr. Alexander says, now pervades the Protestant Swiss community, is a *consequence*, and not the *cause* of Protestant Swiss immorality. We cannot agree with the Doctor, that all other Protestant countries, or, indeed, any other Protestant country, can be called more moral than its neighbouring Catholic country. He is particularly unfortunate in pointing to Holland and Prussia, and comparing them to Austria and Belgium. Belgium is, with respect to morality, at least, on a par with Holland; and the purely Catholic portions of Austria, such as the Tyrol, in the same point of view immeasurably superior to the purely Protestant parts of Prussia. All tourists, I am sure, will admit this. But what will Dr. Alexander say of the state of morals in Sweden, that most Protestant of Protestant countries? Of all European nations the Swedes are the most immoral: all admit this. Now the Swedes are a simple, rural, agricultural people—they inhabit a mountainous country, why, therefore, does not their Swedish "*simplicity*," their mountaineer integrity, guard them against those crimes so frequent among them, and so rare in Switzerland. Is Protestantism one of those tender plants that will not grow and bear fruit in mountainous regions?—See *Dr. Alexander's Switzerland and the Swiss Churches*, p. 140-1.

declared war against abuses only: they found no fault with the doctrines of the church and they never meant to combat them. It was only when opposition had roused the angry passions, and when it was found most difficult to extirpate certain practices with which many and crying abuses were connected, without denying and condemning the doctrines on which these practices were founded, and by which it was sought to justify them, that the Reformers began to impugn the established doctrines themselves. At the commencement of his Reforming career, it is not probable that Luther himself intended to become a heretic: he long professed his readiness to obey the church, and he declared himself willing to refer the whole matter in dispute between himself and his opponents to the arbitration of Leo X. The urgent cry was for the removal of abuses, and, in a demand so reasonable and so just, the most zealous among the Catholics were as loud as the Protestants. Unfortunately the Protestants were not long satisfied with the moderation of their first declarations: they recklessly threw themselves into the abyss of heresy while the Catholics began, in good earnest, that Reformation which the exigencies of the times demanded, and which the wisdom of the church could alone achieve.

Without tampering with the faith, which is from heaven, and which man cannot hope to improve, the sincere Catholics determined to change, modify, and amend, according to the altered circumstances of the age, whatever in the discipline of the church could be advantageously subjected to reform. Hence, to bring about the necessary changes, were called together numerous provincial and national councils, and more especially the great and general Council of Trent. The assembled prelates and chief pastors of the church, in submission to, and in union with, the

See of Rome, sought counsel of one another, and strove to discover, by the light of the Holy Spirit, ever present with the church teaching, mete remedies for the many evils to which Christendom was then a prey. These holy men, full of zeal for the glory of God and the good of religion, achieved wonders. Enemies to ignorance, itself the greatest enemy of the church, they briefly defined the contested truths and set them in the clearest light. They established schools for the clergy and the laity; for all classes—rich and poor: they reformed the monastic orders, abolishing and suppressing some time-worn institutes, and, in their stead, substituting others better suited to the times. The episcopal order itself was also subjected to reform, and the most holy Archbishop of Braga, Bartholomew de Martyribus quaintly declared at the Tridentine Council, that the most illustrious college of cardinals should hold itself prepared for a most illustrious Reformation. In short, every portion of the church from its supreme head on earth to the most humble of its members underwent a change for the better.

The happy effects of this legitimate reform were soon visible. Learning and piety revived together. From the ecclesiastical seminaries recently established there issued forth into the world a numerous and enlightened clergy, among whose ranks might be counted bishops and priests scarcely less learned and holy than the Augustines and Jeromes of earlier times, and missionaries, whose zeal was truly apostolic. At this time of severe trial every order of the ecclesiastical hierarchy nobly stood to its post, and faithfully performed its peculiar duties. The illustrious order instituted by St. Ignatius of Loyola, was pre-eminently distinguished by the zeal and success with which it struggled for the good cause. By its almost superhuman efforts was the still

advancing tide of Protestantism first arrested and driven back. The new heresy, which arrogantly boasted of its superior enlightenment, was every where cast into the shade, and had the mortification of seeing its schools deserted wherever the sons of Loyola were permitted to assemble around them and educate youth. So successful were they in communicating both secular and religious knowledge that the still Catholic princes and nobles of Poland, Austria, Bavaria, and other Germanic countries, were enabled, by their assistance, to bring back their deluded subjects to the bosom of the Catholic church. They brought about, in the countries just mentioned, a complete counter-reformation; and "it was thus," says Ranke, "that Catholicism, which might have been thought conquered, once more arose in Germany, with renewed strength."—*Ranke, History of the Popes*, Vol. II., p. 431. Bohn.

This regeneration of Catholicism, and the wonderful triumph of the olden creed took place within the century which witnessed the Lutheran revolt. The lamp of truth was trimmed anew, and burned more brilliantly than before in countries purely Catholic—darkness was dispelled in many parts where heresy had long prevailed—the church recovered some of the most important of her lost provinces. On the other hand, from that day to the present, Protestantism has not extended its pale by one inch on European ground, while, as we shall now see, the flickering light which the Reformers carried with them on their secession from Rome, is all but extinct, and has left those who were seduced by its deceitful glare, to grope their way through the dark and dreary paths of Rationalism.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNDUE EXALTATION AND ABUSE OF THE BIBLE LEAD
TO INFIDELITY.

It is painful to think, and yet we cannot help thinking, that what was hailed by millions as a Reformation of religion; what by millions is still boasted of as a return to the pure and primitive form of Christianity, should, in reality, be the ruin of the Christian creed, and should hurry it, as fast as the depravity of human nature can hurry it, into the abyss of infidelity. Yet so it is—Protestantism, which pretended to correct, amend, and improve the religion of the Son of God, has all but destroyed it, and would have destroyed it, did not the Almighty protect his noble work, and guard it against the machinations of man. We distinctly charge Protestantism, and this is the last accusation we now mean to urge against it, with upsetting Christianity and introducing infidelity in its stead. We maintain that this is the natural consequence of the Protestant system of teaching—the inevitable result of the very first principle laid down by the Reformers.

It now needs no great depth of philosophy to discern why, among Protestants, the Bible should have fallen into such unmerited contempt. By them it was long unduly exalted, and, as a mere matter of course, it sunk below its proper level. Among Catholics the sacred volume ever steadily holds its venerable place—it is ever looked upon in the same holy light—it is ever treated, as the Word of God,

with the same respectful regard. Safe in the keeping of the church, its legitimate and heavenly appointed interpreter, it is not consulted like an oracle to-day, and thrown aside to-morrow like a book of fables or a collection of profane songs. In the hands of Protestants, however, it has met with a very different fate.

The Reformers made an improper use of the sacred volume—they turned it to purposes for which it was never intended—and, finding by experience, that it would not answer these purposes, they threw it away with scorn and contempt: they raised it like an idol on their altars, but when they found that, like other idols, they might for ever invoke it in vain, its indignant worshippers dashed it to the ground. Bibliolatry is fast passing away, and the descendents of the men who idolized the Bible, have now no more regard for the sacred volume than they have for Homer's poems or Cicero's orations. This we consider as the natural result of the abuse of the Bible and of the Protestant system of each one's teaching himself from the Bible—a system which, as we shall now see, inevitably leads to the rejection of the Bible itself, and the denial of its holiest doctrines.

The fatal error of Protestantism—that error decisive of its ultimate fate,—annihilation, is involved in its first principle, namely, that the Bible contains all revealed truth, and that each individual may, and can, and ought to interpret the Bible for himself. This doctrine to which Protestantism was at first so much indebted for its rapid diffusion, proved ere long its ruin. To teach it, and to insist on it, was all very well for Luther and his friends, when there was question of stirring up the mob and leading them into rebellion against the church, and against its institutions and doctrines—when there was ques-

tion of forming a party and adding to the number of their followers. Nothing, indeed, could be more palatable, more gratifying to the vanity of men. It could not fail to make converts. It was extremely convenient, too, as long as the Reformers were engaged in the unholy work of merely pulling down existing institutions, and of eradicating long established customs; but when it behoved these men to build up a new creed, to unite their adherents in one faith, and bring the rest of the world to think of religion as they did, then, truly, they soon discovered how futile was the principle on which they relied; or rather how fatal to their own designs, how subversive of their own plans, was the doctrine of private interpretation.

It is generally admitted by the Protestants of Germany that the results necessarily flowing from the doctrines of the early Reformers greatly exceeded the wishes and expectations of these men. Little did they imagine, when they maintained that the Scriptures contain all that is necessary for salvation, and that none should consider as an article of faith what he does not read literally in the Bible, and which cannot be proved by the Bible, that the day would come when each individual, Bible in hand, would deem himself qualified, and feel himself called upon, to form a creed for himself, and reject every thing antagonistic to his own ideas. Little, indeed, did Luther and his early friends anticipate any thing of this kind. And yet so far have the theory and practice of thus searching the Scriptures been carried in our times, that the leading articles of the Christian creed have been successively subjected to examination, and rejected by those who style themselves disciples of Jesus Christ.

The fact is, let one error be fully admitted and acted upon, and soon it will open the door for a

thousand others : they rush in upon the unguarded mind in such rapid succession, that truth is speedily lost sight of, and all traces of it shortly effaced. This melancholy fact is put beyond doubt, by what has evidently and undeniably taken place among Protestant communities. The errors into which these have fallen, and the evils they brought on their own head, are all the necessary result ; the legitimate offspring of the first principle, on which the Reformation is based,—private interpretation of the Word of God.

From the very first dawn of that day when Luther proclaimed the right of each individual Christian to read the Bible, and interpret for himself the sacred truths it contained, it was easy to foresee what sad calamities were in store for himself, for his followers, and for the world at large. He spurned at the authority of the church ; he read his Bible, and from it he drew a creed widely different from that of his Fathers. Now, it could not be expected that others would have more respect for him than he had for his predecessors :—it was scarcely to be hoped that his interpretation of the Word of God would satisfy those who were to come after him. He scoffed at the infallibility of the church—others could hardly be supposed willing to consider him infallible. No, but as he had interpreted the Bible for himself irrespectively of those who had gone before him ;—so would others coming after him, interpret it with slender regard to his notions. It would have been the height of presumption in him to claim for himself what he had denied to the whole church. Future Reformers, therefore, improving and perfecting his Reformation, were naturally to be looked for : and they did come, indeed, soon, and in a most sweeping style. So complete have these reformations been, that they have scarcely left a vestige of those peculiar doctrines taught by Luther and Calvin, and the other mighty

enemies of Rome in the sixteenth century. We may go further, and fearlessly assert, that the various reformations consequent on those of Luther and his compeers, have not only undone the work of those men, but have almost eradicated Christianity itself from the unhappy regions which they pretended to reform and evangelize anew. Protestant Germany is now the source, the centre, the head-quarters of that deplorable infidelity which has given birth to that "ominous tendency of the human mind, too clearly indicated, as it is at this moment, from end to end of Europe,...which inspires a deep awe, if not alarm, as it announces the final conflict of First Principles, touching religious belief."—(*Isaac Taylor's Loyola*, p. 341.)

That we do no injustice to Protestantism by considering infidelity as its natural result—as its legitimate offspring—will, we hope, appear evident to all who may be inclined to listen to the Protestant authorities on which we now proceed to establish this heavy accusation.

1st. The more reflecting, and the best-informed portion of the Protestant community, have long been alive to the inconveniences necessarily arising from the private interpretation of Scripture. Sir W. Scott* and Hallam condemned it on the ground of common sense alone. Others, equally hostile to the Catholic church, have admitted that, she acted with more prudence and even more consistently with the spirit of Christian humility, when she claimed infallibility in

* Sir Walter's opinion is forcibly expressed and must be recorded in his own words,—“The doctrine,” says he, “which summoned all men to the exercise of the private judgment, as it was called, led the way to the wildest, most blasphemous, and most fatal excesses. Don Quixotte's balsam was not a more perilous medicine.”—*Scott's Works*, Vol. XVIII., p. 84. Cadel. Ed. 1835.

matters of faith, on the grounds on which she claimed it (that is, in virtue of the promises of Christ ever to be with her and ever to guide her) than Protestants who pretend to interpret the Bible infallibly without being infallible. The Catholic system possesses, at least, one invaluable advantage, to which the antagonistic system has no pretension. It secures unity of religious belief and forbids the very idea of alteration or change—a source of much peace of mind to those who set any value on purity of faith. The Bible, on the contrary, when subjected to private interpretation, cannot become the solid basis of any religious system. The greatest admirers and the most studious readers of that book have drawn from its sacred pages the most contradictory doctrines; and on these, have grounded their reasons for vilifying and persecuting each other as heretics. Various theologians among the Protestants have found in the Bible various systems of theology—or rather various Protestantisms. Now, who on earth can decide which of these, or, if any, be correct, be the Protestantism, which, according to our dissenting brethren, Christ and his Apostles taught—for their boast is, that it was the object of the Reformation to make Christianity once more what it was in the days of the apostles—the pure and primitive times. To decide this question they must appeal to the Bible; but the Bible cannot pronounce decisively, being, as it is, at the mercy of each of its readers, who makes it utter such oracles as he thinks proper. It evidently follows that among Protestants there is no judge in matters of religion. So that each individual is left to seek and find, and decide for himself. The sad consequences of all this are but too evident.

2nd. The German divines finding it impossible to agree on the various articles of the Christian creed, either as handed down to them by their Fathers in

the faith; or even as they found them recorded in the Bible, have, after much mutual recrimination and abuse, tacitly made up their minds to agree in utterly rejecting them all, or at least, as many of them as they might deem incorrect. Not only have they consented to give up their points of faith, but they have not been ashamed to surrender that very book, in which alone they profess to look for the truth,—for the Christian's hope—for the record of the covenanted mercies of God to man—the Germans, tossed about on the boundless sea of human error, on which they were cast by the bad pilotship of the Reformers,—threw in their indignation and despair,—their charts and compass into the waves and recklessly plunged after them into the abyss.

This sad result of the Protestant principle of searching the Scriptures was, in the opinion of Catholics, wholly inevitable. Bossuet repeatedly announced it. Infidel philosophy in the persons of D'Alembert and Diderot, could foresee and foretell this melancholy fact, as well and as clearly as Catholicism itself.—(See French Encyc. Art. Unitarians.) Gibbon, a more sincere writer than either of the above, declared that even in his time “the predictions of the Catholics” regarding the ultimate tendencies of Protestantism towards infidelity, “had been accomplished.”—(Miss. Works, ch. 45.) To satisfy the admirers of “private interpretation” that this principle leads to infidelity, we shall here state in the words of Dr. Alexander the results to which it has led the Protestantism of Switzerland. “In one very important respect, the Catholics of Switzerland have the advantage over the Protestants, they are both better instructed in the principles of their religion, and have a sincerer faith in, and reverence for that religion, than can be affirmed of the Protestants in regard to theirs. Exceptions

there are, doubtless, on both sides ; but the general fact is, I believe, as I have stated it. Whilst multitudes of the Protestants are ignorant of the first principles of Christian truth, whilst by many of them the peculiar doctrines of the gospel are repudiated, and whilst a spirit of indifference as to diversities of religious opinion widely prevails amongst them, the Catholics are, for the most part, sincerely attached to their faith, well acquainted with its principles and practices, proud of avowing their devotion to it, and apt to carry their preference for it the dangerous length of denouncing not only the sentiments, but even the persons of all who reject it. If this betrays them into intolerance, it is, nevertheless, surely a more wholesome state of things than that tendency to the opposite extreme which too much marks the Protestants of Switzerland at present. I am far from thinking bigoted attachment to a corrupt form of Christianity a slight evil ; but I cannot help regarding this as greatly to be preferred to that flippant indifference which practically abrogates religion altogether, or that hardened infidelity which makes religion a subject of contempt or mockery.—(Switzerland and the Swiss Churches, p. 138-9.) Even Protestants themselves are now beginning to see this truth in its natural light. The translator of Schlegel's *Philosophy of History* candidly observes in a foot-note, that the mania for Biblical criticism, long prevalent in Protestant Germany, and which, however it may inform our reason, and gratify a laudable curiosity, is in itself no guide to the knowledge of religious truth."—(*Sch. Ph. of His.*, p. 402.)

We are not to imagine, however, that the fruits of the Reformation were ripe all at once. No great work, good or bad, is perfected in one day. The early followers of Luther and Calvin adopted almost

without examination the doctrines of their masters. It was only when men had time to reflect—to carry out to its full length the principle of searching the Scriptures for heavenly light and everlasting life, that they found by sad experience how baseless was the fabric erected on the ruins of the ancient church. It is at once a curious and an instructive fact, that they, among the Reformed party, who acted most steadily and most consistently on the leading principle of the Reformation, were the first to reject the Reformation. They yielded themselves up to its direction—guided by it, they searched earnestly and ardently, and the more they searched the less they found, until at last they were startled on perceiving that they were only blind men led by others as blind as themselves. Then, indeed, did they snap the leading-strings, as they would no longer confide in the hand who held them. They shook off their guide, thinking it as safe to grope their own way, as to follow in the wake of those whose tread they felt to be already on the brink of the precipice; that is, in one word, they spurned the Reformation, they laid aside the Bible—they ceased to seek despairing of ever being able to find—and they allowed themselves to sink hopelessly and irretrievably into the dark and dreary abyss of Rationalism. Yes, we fear not to say it, all Protestant nations are even now, or will soon be, open, avowed and declared infidels. Grating as this doctrine is to our hearts and feelings, it cannot be gainsaid. A thousand Protestant witnesses are at hand to vouch for its truth. Of these, the most remarkable perhaps in this country are the Rev. Hugh James Rose, Dr. Pusey, and the Rev. E. H. Dewar. Mr. Rose, nearly a quarter of a century ago, wrote a painfully interesting book on “the state of Protestantism in Germany.” In that work, much criticised and censured at the time, but which has

never been refuted, the author, exposes at length the sad state of reformed creeds in the very place where the reformed doctrines were first preached. He candidly admits that they have one and all given way to the most heartless and hopeless Rationalism. Dr. Pusey also admits the fact, and in his "Historical inquiry into the propable causes of the Rationalistic character, lately predominant in the theology of Germany," seeks to account for it, and suggests remedies, by which he hopes to alleviate the evils, under which German Protestantism has been so long labouring. Mr. Dewar, a more recent observer of the state of religion in Germany, confirms all his predecessors had advanced regarding its pitiable condition, and with a fearless hand, adds darker tints to the already sombre colours in which they had depicted the ravages of infidelity among our German brethren. His book on "German Protestantism," &c., and his "Letter to Neander," in defence of this book, should be read by all who boast, as the enemies of Catholicism, in this country so often boast, of the "Glorious Reformation." Here they will see its results—the fruits which it has borne in the land watered with the sweat of the Reformers. A few extracts from these and similar books (and our limits will permit us to lay only a few before our readers,) will satisfy them that we have not exaggerated the Rationalistic tendencies of Protestantism in Germany.

In the very first page of his work, Mr. Rose says, "The theology of the Protestant churches of Germany presented a very singular spectacle during the last half of the preceding century, and the commencement of the present. A very large majority of the divines of these churches rejected, in a word, all belief in the divine origin of Christianity, and anxiously endeavoured to instil into others the opinions which

they had embraced themselves. They had possession of by far the greater number of divinity professorships in the many universities of Germany, and they had almost exclusively the direction of the literary and religious journals, a class of publications of more influence and importance in Germany than among ourselves. By the unsparing use of the means thus afforded them, and by an infinite quantity of writings, addressed to men of all classes and all ages, they succeeded in spreading their views over the surface of society. How deep the disease went among the lower orders it is not easy to ascertain; but it appears that, after a time, a spirit of almost entire indifference to religion manifested itself among all classes. The churches were thinly attended, the Sabbath little honoured, *the Bible much neglected.*" Mr. Rose might have said at once what he knew to be the fact, that the Bible was not only much neglected, but also much *abused*. Mr. Dewar, whose object seems to have been to show the evil effects of private interpretation, will tell us this:—He informs us that the German theologians have denied the inspiration of the Scriptures: they have called in question the authenticity of every one of the sacred writings: they have explained away all that is supernatural and divine in the miracles of the Son of God; and his sublime doctrines appear to them in the same light as those of Socrates, Plato, or any of the ancient sages. Of their mode of interpreting the Word of God, we may judge by the following:—

"Among the most eminent divines of the era of which we are speaking, were Gabler, Eckermann, Köhr, and Wegscheider.

"Gabler, professor of theology, successively at Gottingen, Altorf, and Jena, was the editor during many years of the New Theological Journal, which was the organ of the most sceptical section of

Rationalists. Among his treatises deserve mention especially those which refer to the miracles wrought by our Saviour, and his introduction to the 'Primitive History' of Eichhon."

"Henke, superintendent of the clergy of Gotha, is a name yet more distinguished. It is only necessary to mention his assertion, that Christolatria and Bibliolatria are obstacles which it is necessary to get rid of, and that it is the business of our age to lay the axe to the root *of all such superstitions.*"

Eckermann I have already had occasion to speak of. I will only add, that according to his view of Christianity, our Saviour had no other office than to teach mankind the true and rational method of worshipping the deity. Köhr, superintendent of the clergy of Weimar, throws away all disguise, and maintains that *Jesus Christ* differed in no respect from other men, except that he surpassed them in wisdom, and asserts the gospels to be writings upon which no dependence can be placed. His letters upon Rationalism, in which he put forward his views, had very great success, and served to diffuse them widely throughout Protestant Germany. It should be observed, however, that he felt and acknowledged the inconsistency of which he was guilty in continuing to discharge the office of a minister and overseer of a Christian church. He, therefore, proposed that German Rationalism should openly break off all communion with the churches of Christianity, and published a new creed to be used in place of those which they recognise. The publication of this creed was accompanied by a letter addressed to all the theologians of Germany, inviting them to accede to his proposal; but the invitation appears to have been unwelcome, since Schott of Jena was alone disposed to think favourably of the proposal."

“Wegscheider, professor of theology at Halle, dedicated a book to the manes of Luther, in which he asserts that any system of religion, which is founded upon a revelation from God to man, should be rejected as irrational.

“When such doctrines were promulgated by the most eminent divines of Germany, it will not surprise you to hear that a hearty belief in the doctrines of the Christian faith was not only considered superfluous, but almost universally ridiculed as absurd. A belief in the reality of the miracles related in the Bible was very generally abandoned. Paulus, Hartmann, Paalzow, and Rienis, deny the historical truth of miracles, while Gutsmiths, Hezel, Eck, and Gabler, endeavour to explain them on physical and natural principles.”—(Page 145.)

More recent divines than those we have just mentioned have improved on their predecessors. In their hands Protestantism is daily showing more clearly of what spirit it is.” “Strauss” (a living author) was the first to throw off all disguise. According to him the accounts we have received of the life and doctrines of Jesus Christ have no historical foundation, but are only legends and myths. “Fenerbach,” says Mr. Dewar, “who followed Strauss with a yet more unscrupulous work on Christianity, has carried out the philosophy of Hegel, into what is termed the “anthropological system.” He sets out from the modern speculative theory, that the Christian faith is a stage in the development of the human mind, and the religious notions which have been entertained, necessary acts of thought.”

One more extract from the sadly interesting pages of Mr. Dewar will suffice to show to what lengths the principle of private interpretation, has led those who have not merely adopted it in theory, but also acted upon it in practice. “According to Bauer,” (a

theological tutor at Bonn) “the New Testament is pure fiction. As the earliest of the gospels, he regards that of St. Mark, written perhaps two centuries after the death of CHRIST. From this gospel he supposes the others to have been copied, their respective authors expanding his narrative and adding to it entirely according to pleasure.”

“He enters at considerable length into the details of the life of JESUS, as they are presented to us in these records, and I need hardly say that he derides every part of it which would invest our Lord with a divine or supernatural character.”—(P. 201.)

Such are the teachers, and such are the doctrines taught in Germany—the birthplace—the cradle of the Reformation!! And these are the glorious results of the great religious revolution for which Protestants daily raise their hands and hearts and thank kind heaven. Struck with the sad sight, and heart-sick at the view of such calamities as have overtaken the children of the Reformation, the most enlightened men of the party have given vent in no measured language to their feelings of disappointment. According to Beckendorff, “There is no church among his party, but merely parties; the old church is *in ruins*.” Boll says: “The dissolution of the Protestant church is certain.” The *Hallische Literatur Zeitung* declares that “there is no Protestant church, but only now Protestant churches;” and so Dr. Planck: Professor Schmann observes, “one sees Protestantism, but no Protestant church.” Superintendent-General Schlegel avers that “the greatest part of the evangelical churches may be asked, if they can make any pretence to the name of a Christian church.” Starck says, “It has *ceased to exist*.”—(*Dub. Rev.*)

Nor, alas, is infidelity confined to the tolerably wide domains of German Protestantism. It has trodden in the footsteps of the Reformers in every

country where their cause has prevailed.* Geneva and its environs have long been notorious as the head-quarters of Socinianism. Vernet's System of Theology—a system which openly teaches Christ to

* Dr. Alexander gives a most lamentable account of the prevalence of infidelity among all classes of Swiss Protestants. "Were this indifference," he says, "on the part of the people confined to mere matters of ecclesiastical order, the evil would be comparatively trifling. But it extends, unhappily, beyond these to the concerns of religion itself. The state of religious feeling and action in the Protestant churches of Switzerland, is, for the most part, painfully feeble and low. Dead forms, parchment orthodoxy, mechanical rites, engross the entire religious interest of multitudes; and, with others, a lax indifference and courteous latitudinarianism confound all religious distinctions, and make religion itself a mere article of worldly convenience. Between these two classes the great mass of those who still adhere to the profession of Protestant Christianity in the national churches of Switzerland is divided. The exceptions are comparatively few, and are found principally among the younger clergy."—(Switzerland and the Swiss, p. 153.) The Doctor hopes, as in duty bound, for better things, and fancies he sees the shadows of coming events. He consoles himself and flatters his Protestant readers by assuring them that, in point of education and worldly prosperity, his co-religionists are far in advance of the Swiss Catholics,—“Viewed as a whole, Catholic Switzerland is inferior to Protestant Switzerland in respect of popular education.” It is not to be denied that in several of the Catholic cantons, especially the French cantons, the people are, in quickness of perception, and acuteness of reasoning, *at least* on a par with their Protestant neighbours. But when we come to that kind of information which enables a man to take large and comprehensive views of things, and those habits of mind which prompt to generalise facts into principles, and to apply these principles, to the promotion of science or the social interests, we shall find that the balance immensely preponderates in favour of the Protestants. Nearly all the science, all the manufactures, and all the merchandise of Switzerland are in the hands of its Protestant inhabitants; whilst the Catholics content themselves with the pursuits of agriculture, the “wisdom of their ancestors,” warlike exercises and rustic sports.”—(*Ib.* p. 137-8.) Now, allowing all this to be so many facts, which we do not allow, it

have been a mere man, "is the standard work of divinity used in the university." And M. Vernet's successor in the important office of theological professor "proclaimed to his scholars, *ex-cathedra*, 'Faites de Jesus Christ tout ce que vous voulez; mais ne l'en faites pas Dieu;' that is, believe anything you like of Jesus Christ, but do not believe him to be God."—(A sketch of the religious discussions which have lately taken place at Geneva, p. 453.) While these horrible doctrines were taught in the schools of Geneva, the rabble in its streets was heard to cry, "à bas Jesus Christ—down with Jesus Christ!" The Jews of old were less guilty when they shouted "Away with him!" "Crucify him!"

In France, as well as in Germany and Switzerland, Protestantism has resulted in Socinianism and the most undisguised infidelity. Edmund Schever, in his "Present State of the Reformed Church in France," avows the painful truth, and deploras it in truly feeling terms. "We had a church," says he, "we have now only *churches*. We were a Reformed church, and we are so no longer. Its name only now adorns a mutilated phantom." He accounts for the perversion

proves merely that the Protestants of Switzerland are more worldly-wise than the Catholics. Dr Alexander admits that, in the possession of religious instruction, the superiority is on the side of Catholicism. This is enough to justify the church; it is her province to impart heavenly, and not secular knowledge, and in this her enemies acknowledge that she is both assiduous and successful; and to the Protestant who boasts of superior temporal advantages, while he is utterly destitute of all spiritual blessings, she may say in language of her Divine founder: "What will it avail a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" At all events, if the Protestants of Switzerland be in any respect superior to their Catholic neighbours, this superiority should, in all fairness, be attributed, not to Protestantism, which they seem to have long discarded, but to infidelity now confessedly so prevalent amongst them. Dr. Alexander, I think, cannot deny this.

of the people by the errors into which the pastors had fallen. "Our schools of theology," he says, "teach pell-mell orthodoxy and Rationalism. Any professor may, uncontrolled, and, we must acknowledge, without failing in any engagement, overthrow revealed religion by criticism, and natural religion by speculation. The pastors enjoy the same latitude, and the churches and consistories opposed to each other, the same also."—(p. 28.) Haldane, a Scottish enthusiast, declared many years ago that nearly all the Protestants in France were Unitarians. Mr. Trench,* an Anglican divine, visited France, several years after Haldane, and found the Scotsman's estimate of the French Protestants but too correct. So late as 1841, the Foreign Aid Society's Report says, "A few years ago, it was hardly possible to find twenty *pasteurs* who confessed the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement. At this time (1841) the Established Protestantism in France is for the most part Socinianism."

In the countries adjoining France, it has not fared better with the Reformed churches. They are everywhere overrun with Socinianism and infidel ministers. The third volume of the "Scottish Christian Herald" (p. 5104) informs us that of Protestant ministers, who, in Belgium "afford religious instruction to *thirteen* different congregations, there are only *four* who know the truth; the rest, either Rationalists or Socinians hate it with their whole hearts."

Holland, although not the birthplace, has long been the favourite home of Socinianism. So early as the middle of the 17th century, notwithstanding all opposition, civil and ecclesiastical, the sect which denied the divinity of the Son of God "was very

* The Rev. Francis Trench's "Diary of Travels," 1844, which see, *passim*.

much on the increase," and was, ere long, "assented to by most" in the whole province.

As was naturally to be expected, the northern kingdoms of Europe, some of them bordering on, all of them in constant communication with, Germany, have fallen a prey to the infidel spirit now devastating that country, so productive of errors and delusions of various kinds. Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, are swarming with Rationalists, who protest as earnestly against the errors of Protestantism as taught by the early Reformers, as these men themselves protested against the alleged errors and superstitions of the Catholic church. We might adduce the testimony of both natives and foreigners to prove this fact. Wingard, the highest ecclesiastical official in Sweden, records it with shame and sorrow; Laing, a Scottish Utilitarian philosopher, sets it down as a matter of course; and Robert Haldane, his countryman, sheds over it the tears of an amiable enthusiast. We shall quote the words of the latter, as they are concise and decisive on the subject. Speaking of Sweden, Norway, and Finland, he says: "The face of these countries, in some respects, resembles the Highlands of Scotland, and knowledge is difficult of communication. The tide of infidelity, therefore, more slowly reached these northern countries, but its arrival was only the later, and not the less disastrous.....The faith of the people was every where overturned by the 'Preachers of Humanity,' sent forth by the infidel university of Copenhagen. At present one may travel through these countries, and, perhaps, not find anything like the gospel in twenty parishes." —(*R. Haldane's Second Review of the Conduct of the Directors Bri. and For. Bible Society. Edin., 1826, p. 61.*)

We care not to provoke controversy, or wound the feelings of our countrymen, by referring to the

advance of infidel doctrines among the inhabitants of the British Islands. Gladly would we shut our eyes and refuse to see the rapid spread of anti-christian principles, if, by so doing, we could arrest their progress, or wholly drive them from the beloved land of our birth. But our voluntary ignorance of the evil, or our conniving at it, would not stay its onward march one single day, or mitigate the woes it brings in its train. We may, therefore, roundly assert, what no observant person will venture to deny, that, in Protestant England and in Protestant Scotland, the doctrines of the Reformation are fast dying out, to make way for their own legitimate offspring, the still more dreadful doctrines of an unbelieving philosophy. By and bye there will be as little Christianity amongst us as amongst those nations whose pastors tell them they may believe anything they like of the Divine Founder of Christianity, provided they do not believe him to be God.—(See *M. Vernet's System of Theology taught in the Protestant Schools of Switzerland*.)

But, perhaps, the safest and most satisfactory mode of testing the effects of the Protestant system of teaching, or private interpretation, is to examine the state of religion where all is free, where no power, civil or hierarchical, is permitted to control man in his intercourse with his Maker—in America. In that land of boasted freedom the Protestant principle has long had a fair field on which to display its merits. In what, then, has the unrestricted study and free interpretation of the Bible resulted there? Alas! our answer must be, that in America, as in Europe, Bible readers and Bible interpreters, on the principle of private interpretation, have come to the conclusion that the Bible should be rejected. From the doubts and difficulties surrounding them on all sides, and which they could neither remove nor overcome, they have sought

refuge in Socinianism, Rationalism, unbelief. Nor could we look for aught besides. As from a bad tree we expect bad fruit, so from an erroneous principle error upon error must, we are aware, naturally spring. Never was this doctrine better illustrated than by the actual condition of Christianity among the various Protestant communities in the United States.

1st. In that country Protestantism is split into a thousand different sects. "The sects which exist in the United States are *innumerable*," says De Toqueville, a well-known French traveller.—(*Democracy*, Vol. II., ch. 9 p. 228.) A native American has expressed the same thought in still more emphatic terms, when he declares, that "the land is literally swarming with religious sects."—(*Thoughts on the Religious State of the Country*, p. 204.) This variety of sects, however, does not arise from the varied and extensive learning of the clergy. "Those among them," observes Mr. Hamilton, in his "*Men and Manners in America*," "with whom I had an opportunity of conversing during my different journeys, (in the country,) were unlettered and ignorant of theology, in a degree often scarcely credible." These unhappy men seem not to know what they believe; and it is seldom they adhere for any length of time to a belief of any kind. Mr. Hamilton says, "Some of them seem to have changed their tenets almost as often as their coats. One told me that he had commenced his clerical life as a Calvinist, he then became a Baptist, then a Universalist, and was, when I met him, a Unitarian."

Of course, these rapid changes in the minds of the pastors must produce corresponding changes in those of the people. Hence, we find, as Bishop Wingard remarks, (*Review*, p. 159,) that new "sects are constantly springing up, new congregations are

formed, and existing ones are dissolved." But of these sects, the same writer informs us, there is one more flourishing by far than the others. "There is a saying," he tells us, "heard from one corner of the union to the other, that the most numerous sect consists of those who believe in nothing, and are therefore called *Nothingarians*." This prepares us for a statement made by an American writer, and which may be found in "The New York Churchman," Vol. IX., No. 25. "Infidelity has made rapid strides in that part of the country (New England) during the last twenty years, and, at present, *not one-half* of the adult population are in the habit of attending *any* religious worship, or even belong to any Christian sect. I am able to state this from statistical facts, gathered by clergymen (of all denominations) from different parts of the New England States." Speaking of Massachussets, De Toqueville says, there "the tendency of the popular mind has been more towards Unitarianism than infidelity, owing to the influence of a few powerful minds exerted in support of its doctrines; but in other states, for the want of a half-way house, they have gone the whole distance, from unintelligible metaphysics to open infidelity." So much for private interpretation of the Word of God,—for the Protestant system of teaching religion in the model republic. There, as every where, the system infallibly leads to, and ends in, utter and inextricable confusion, in hopeless and heartless infidelity. And these are the results of the GLORIOUS REFORMATION!! Our arguments against the Protestant system of teaching, on the ground of its tendency to infidelity, will be met with the retort, that among Catholics as among Protestants, there are many infidels; and in proof of this, our opponents will point to the many unbelievers in France, Italy, Germany, and other

countries, purely or mostly Catholic. In Scotland, more particularly, this argument has already been frequently urged against the Catholic church, and with so much success, that many persons in that country have been led to believe that "Popery" and Paganism, Catholic belief and infidel disbelief are closely allied, are, indeed, all but synonymous.

While we laugh to scorn this vulgar error of the Presbyterians,—originating in malice and fanaticism, and resting on ignorance, we will not seek to conceal a lamentable fact, a fact which we deplore as sincerely and as deeply as the most feeling man can deplore the greatest of all possible calamities. We admit that there are too many, (though fewer than is generally alleged,) infidels to be found in the wide domains of Catholicism. But we can account satisfactorily enough for this evil without attaching any blame to the Catholic church, to her doctrines, rites, or discipline.

If Catholics sometimes turn infidels, they do so, not in consequence of following out their principles, but because they lay them aside. They disbelieve their creed, not on the teaching of the church, but because they refuse to be guided by this teaching. Ere they became infidels, or at least in the very act of adopting infidelity, they ceased to be Catholics. They were already Protestant in principle, and, of course, already too on the way to which Protestantism leads; that is, on the way to infidelity. "Undoubtedly," says F. W. Schlegel, "even within the pale of Catholicism, we meet occasionally with individuals who adopt the same, or, at least, very similar systems, who either give in to the principle of Rationalism or to a false theological illuminism, (as in the recent period of neology,) or like some of the Jansenists, indulge in the unsafe and illusive sug-

gestions of a sentimental mysticism. For the contests of two hostile parties will not always prevent the imitation of defects and the contagion of errors." —(Philos. of His., p. 402-3, Bohn.) Catholics, then, become infidels only when they cease to act on their own principles and adopt those of their erring brethren.

With Protestants the case is very different. The more consistent they are as Protestants—that is, the more diligent they are in reading and judging for themselves, the more cautious they are in believing nothing which they do not find clearly written in the Word of God, and which they do not perfectly understand; the sooner do they become disciples of infidelity—the more speedily do they carry out their principles to their utmost extent. No really inquiring and consistent Protestant can long remain in the same position. In proportion as he dives deeper into the mysteries of faith, of the truth of which he must satisfy himself by his own exertions, the sooner does he make the painful discovery that these mysteries are above his reason, beyond its reach, and apparently contrary to reason. In these circumstances, and on his own principles,—on the principle that he should yield assent to nothing not clearly revealed and not perfectly understood, he should reject those mysterious truths,—and if he be a sincere man, and a sound reasoner, he will reject them. All this he is bound to do as a good Protestant,—and the better Protestant he is, the more speedily will he pursue this course. Hence, we Catholics maintain, not unfairly, and not unreasonably, that Protestantism leads straight to infidelity, and hurries pell-mell into the abyss of unbelief each and all of its disciples, the most active, learned, and most consistent, sinking first into the pit, and the masses,

the promiscuous crowd, following heedlessly after them.*

Two facts, to which we must briefly allude, will suffice to show that this is no vain and baseless theory. 1st. German infidelity first prevailed among the more learned of the clergy, and was communicated by them to the people. It sprang up almost immediately after the commencement of the Reformation, and some of its doctrines are clearly enough expressed in the writings of Luther himself. Balmez quotes various propositions enounced by the father of the Reformation, which no ingenuity can reconcile with the doctrines of the gospel. Among these are the following: "It is likely that, excepting a few, they (the dead) all sleep, deprived of feeling." "I think that the dead are buried in so ineffable and wonderful a sleep, that they feel or see less than those who sleep an ordinary sleep." "The souls of the dead enter neither into purgatory nor into hell." "The human soul sleeps; all its senses buried." "There is no suffering in the abode of the dead." ("Veresimile est, exceptis paucis, omnes dormire insensibiles." "Ego puto mortuos sic ineffabili et somno sopitos, ut minus sentiant, aut videant, quam hi qui alias dormiant." "Animæ mortuorum non ingrediuntur in purgatorium nec infernum." "Anima

* In illustration of this fact, we may observe that Socinianism, that is, infidelity under another name, originated among the most enlightened Protestants, namely, the Italians. Dr. M'Crie devotes many pages to the investigation of the causes of the decline of Protestantism in Italy, and of these causes he admits the internal divisions of the various parties, and the infidel tendencies of the doctrines taught by the more learned among the Italian Protestants to have been fatal to the cause of the Reformation on the south side of the Alps.—(See his history of the "Reformation in Italy," a work in which there are some truths, many errors, but not one word breathing genuine liberality.)

humana dormit, omnibus sensibus sepultis." "Mortuorum locus cruciatus nullos habet.")—(Tom. II. Ep. Lat. Isleb., fol. 44; Tom. VI. Lat. Wittenberg, in cap. II., cap. XXIII., c. XXV., c. XLII., c. XLIX.; Tom. IV., Lut. Wittemberg, fol. 109.) "Persons," continues Balmez, "were not wanting ready to receive such doctrines, and this teaching caused such ravages, that the Lutheran Brentzen, disciple and successor of Luther, hesitates not to say: 'Although no one among us publicly professes that the soul perishes with the body, and that there is no resurrection of the dead, nevertheless the impure and wholly profane lives which they, for the most part, lead, shows very clearly that they do not believe that there is another life. Some even allow words of this kind to escape them, not only in the intoxication of libations, but even when fasting, in their familiar intercourse.'—(Brentz. Hom. 35, in cap 20, Lut.) "There were in this same sixteenth century some men who cared not to give their names to this or that sect, but who professed infidelity and scepticism without disguise. We know that the famous Gruet paid with his head for his boldness in this way."—(Balmez, note p., 366, Burns, London.) He fell a victim to the malice of Calvin, and was executed at Geneva, in 1549. Thus Protestantism and infidelity are coeval. They sprang up together, their doctrines were preached by the same pastors and received by the same people. Alas! that they, who announced themselves as the heralds of an improved gospel should have been the apostles of unbelief. Even now, with all their experience of the past, incredulity is no impediment to ecclesiastical preferment among the continental Protestants. Strauss, whose impious Life of Christ, startled and scandalized Europe, was invited to act as professor of divinity in the Protestant seminary of Zurich; and

Bruno Bauer, a still more thorough-going infidel than Strauss, long held without molestation the rank of theological tutor in the university of Bonn. At length the Prussian government interfered and requested the universities of the kingdom to examine Bauer's doctrines, and to say ;—1st. "Upon what ground does Bauer stand with regard to Christianity?" 2nd. "Should his *licentia docendi* (his license to teach) be continued to him?" Let the reader note the answers returned to these questions, and from them, learn to judge whether or not Protestantism leads to, fosters and encourages infidelity, as alleged by Catholics. Mr. Dewar will tell us what responses were elicited from the German oracles for the satisfaction of an inquiring government and a doubting and anxious people.

"The replies to these questions by the six Prussian universities are signed by twenty-six divines, the most eminent, it is to be presumed, for learning and piety, whom Germany can produce, including Neander, Marheinecke, Wegscheider, and Tholuck. Of these twenty-six, eight, in passing a solemn judgment upon this work, (a work, remember, which asserts the gospel histories to be a series of human inventions and falsehoods,) declared that they found nothing in it contrary to Christianity; eleven came to the opposite conclusion; while the remaining seven, constituting the theological faculty at Halle, avowed their inability to come to a decision, and remained neutral. In answer to the second question, ten gave it as their opinion that Bauer ought to be deprived of his license to teach theology; while the other sixteen decided that he ought to be permitted to retain it. The Prussian government adopted the advice of the minority, and removed him from his tutorship. But it is a characteristic circumstance, that even those who declare against Bauer, are very careful to

assert 'the great and irrevocable privilege of Protestantism,' a perfect liberty in believing and teaching, and recommend that he should be deprived of the power of instilling his sentiments into the future clergy of their church, not on the ground of his having given any new and strange interpretation of Scripture, or taught that Christianity contains doctrines differing from all those which had hitherto been received ; that would have been exercising his privilege as a Protestant, which he might have done with impunity ; but because he disclaims the Bible altogether, and boldly advocates the total abrogation of the Christian religion. This inconsistency is dwelt upon in the separate vote of Dr. Marheinecke, dean of the theological faculty in Berlin. He shows that Bauer has only advanced a few steps farther than many others, (among whom he instances, especially, Schleiermacher,) who have denied the divine inspiration and the authenticity of the Scriptures, and complains of the gross injustice of punishing him, while these have been rewarded and loaded with honours."—(P. 213-14.)

This speaks for itself, and, better than any language of ours, points out where, among Protestants, infidelity originates, and how impossible it is for a nation taught by Protestant pastors to escape its ravages.

2nd. It is a well-known fact that there are no returns on a large scale from infidelity to Protestantism. Mr. Macaulay* well observes that no nation sinking from Protestantism into infidelity was ever known to shake off unbelief in order to embrace anew the Protestant creed. Indeed, Protestants become unbelievers only when having weighed

* Review of Ranke's History of the Popes.—*Edinb. Rev.*, Oct., 1842.

and carefully examined each article of their symbol they have found them all wanting. Hence, when they do turn aside, if they turn aside at all, from the paths of scepticism, it is to become Catholics. This fact is the more striking, when we consider that Catholic nations, as Mr. Macaulay says, are known to have lapsed into infidelity, and then, unlike their Protestant neighbours, who never retrace their steps, to have returned again from their errors into the bosom of the church from which they had departed. But in no age since that in which the Reformation took place, has the superior excellence of the Catholic system been more forcibly and honourably vindicated, by the return to her communion of illustrious but erring brethren, than at the present hour. There has, indeed, for some years back, been numerous conversions to Catholicism from every Protestant sect; but the barge which bore home the returning wanderers has of late been more heavily laden than heretofore. The sudden revolution, whose effects posterity alone can appreciate, began in Germany towards the end of the wars against Napoleon. Mr. Rose tells us that, in "the years 1813-14, more than three hundred men of cultivated minds" went over to their fond mother church; and Mr. Dewar, a more recent observer and writer, remarks with some reluctance and certain drawbacks, excusable enough, when we remember he is still a Protestant, "that many pure and high minded-men have despaired of ever seeing good arise from that of which the very root was evil, and abandoning that church rather than their God, threw themselves into the arms of the Romish communion, where, if they found some things which do not belong to pure Christianity, they found at least the semblance of religion."

Similar effects resulting from similar causes are

taking place in Hungary. There, too, the ranks of Catholicism are thronged by the broken and disjointed members of various Protestant communities falling into them. Wingard, the Swedish prelate, whom we have already quoted, speaking of that country, says, "The Protestants are also here, on account of the *dissolution* which Rationalism has caused, not sufficiently prepared for resistance, and the apostates are therefore the easier, as the Roman Catholic clergy neglect no opportunity of making proselytes." But if there were any virtue in Protestantism, would these proselytes from Rationalism prefer the Catholic church to their own? It is not so much the zeal of the Roman Catholic clergy that decides the choice and secures the adhesion of the returning infidels, as the well-known superiority of the Roman Catholic religion.

We know that an extraordinary movement towards Rome has characterised the present epoch in England. The return of the most learned and most devout men in England's isle and church, to the ancient creed and its undying doctrines, is a thing of daily occurrence—an event which from its frequency astonishes no one. The example thus given is followed beyond the Atlantic. There thinking men, not few in number, perceiving that their brethren at home have also felt the *worthlessness* of Anglicanism, have made up their minds to seek salvation elsewhere, and abandon a creed so shamelessly and sinfully imposed on their Fathers. There, in as great numbers, and perhaps more rapidly, are the strayed sheep returning to the fold. Friends and foes alike have witnessed and recorded the pleasing fact. "If," says Captain Marryatt, "if the Protestant cause is growing weaker every day from disunion and indifference, there is one creed which is rapidly gaining strength,—I refer to the Catholic church, which is silently but

surely advancing. Judge Haliburton asserts that all America will be a Catholic country.....I think that the author of *Sam Slick* may not be far wrong in the assertion.”—(*Diary in America*,” Vol. III., p. 166.)

And so great is the increase of infidelity in America, and so powerless is Protestantism, in all its forms, to arrest the progress of the evil, or to remedy it, that Mr. De Toqueville declared that ere long, there will be only two parties in America,—those who have some religion, and those who have none—Catholics that is, and infidels. “I am inclined to believe,” says that author, “that our posterity will tend more and more into a single division into two parts—some relinquishing Christianity entirely, and others returning into the bosom of the church of Rome.” Other thinking men have again and again indulged in similar predictions. Indeed, the time is not, we think, far distant, when we may say of the Protestant communities at large, what Isaac Taylor predicates of the continental nations of Europe, that they scarcely “retain any of the elements of a religious existence.”* And that this is the result of private interpretation—of assigning to man a task which sad experience daily teaches him he is unable to perform! This is the lamentable consequence of unduly exalting the Bible,—of making it, what its Divine author never meant it to be—man’s sole guide from the land of darkness, sin and sorrow,—to the glorious mansions of peace, light, and immortality.

With this we may, we think, conclude this our last argument, and, indeed, our essay. We have said enough to show the difference between the *use* and the *abuse* of the Bible—that is, between the Bible as interpreted by the church, and the Bible as interpreted by

* Loyola, Preface, p. vii.

each individual. The Bible, used by Catholics, has preserved the religion of the Son of God—has subdued barbarous nations, and has been instrumental in every age in enlightening those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death. The Bible abused by Protestants—has caused civil and religious commotions—impeded the progress of light and learning—scandalized the heathen—demoralized Christendom—and brought Christianity itself into disrepute, utterly destroying the religion of the Son of God, and refusing to Himself his noblest attributes,—those of the divinity. The sight of such events, naturally resulting from the Protestant system, has not escaped the notice of thinking and serious men beyond the pale of Catholicism. All around them conspired to show that their own religion was dying away, was crumbling to pieces, and feeling themselves immortal, they began to hurry back, and are still hurrying back, in crowds to the bosom of that church, which though often by its enemies “doomed to death, is fated not to die.” The imperishable character of Catholicism is now almost universally admitted by intelligent Protestants accustomed to witness her struggles and her triumphs.* Comparing her tenacity of life with the facility with which Protestant sects

* Singularly enough, all parties, Macaulay, Southey, and others, agree in predicting the general revival and final triumph of Catholicism. The following is from the “Life and Correspondence of Southey,” Vol. IV. :—Speaking of religion, after its struggle with the French Revolution, the poet says, “The state of religious feeling appears to differ much in different parts of France. In most places we found that the churches were very ill-attended, but at Auxerre they were so full that we literally could not decently walk in to examine them as we wished to have done. In Switzerland, the Protestant cantons have suffered more than the Catholic ones. I had good opportunities of inquiring into this in the Pays de Vaud, and *the state of religion in Geneva is now notorious*. Upon the banks

are wont to surrender up their existence on every trying occasion, they cannot but eulogise her vital energies, and wish her "Good speed." They proclaim her immortality. Would that they, too, would come and share it!

of the Rhine, all the inhabitants who were not actually employed in the fields seemed to be busy in performing a pilgrimage. It was a most striking sight to see them; men, women, and children, toiling along bareheaded, under a July sun, singing German hymns. I suspect that the progress of irreligion has kept pace with the extent of French books in the Catholic part of Europe, and that where they have not found their way the people remain in the same state as before. But if things remain quiet for one generation, *the Catholic church will recover its ascendancy*. Its clergy are wise as serpents, and with all their errors, one cannot, considering all things, but heartily wish them success."

THE END.

Bibel



Maclachlan, Paul

The Bible: its use and abuse; or an inquiry into the results of the
respective doctrines of the catholic and protestant churches relative to
the interpretation of the Word of God

London [1851]

Exeg. 672 p

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10411762-6